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CANADA

THE STORY OF THE DOMINION

A HISTORY OF CANADA
FROM ITS EARLY DISCOVERY
AND SETTLEMENT TO THE
PRESENT TIME

BY
J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F.S.S.

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PREFACE

Some years ago I had occasion to state that "Canada only needs to be known in order to be great." Events have since greatly strengthened my belief in the truth of these words, and have impressed upon my mind the further fact that to be properly appreciated abroad a people should be familiar with its own past, proud of its own history, filled with confidence in its own resources and strength, and conscious of its own national and material development.

Are Canadians in this position? It is to be feared that only a small minority realize the conditions mentioned. The great mass of the people look with admiration and deserved respect upon the splendid annals of the Motherland, her wars upon sea and shore, her heroes in history and statecraft and literature and every branch of human progress, her wealth of civilized tradition and store of constitutional liberties. Others are impressed with the vast object-lesson of United States development and the thrilling records of its war for unity and freedom. To them all, it is to be feared, the four hundred years of history which the Dominion boasts is more or less a sweeping shadow upon the dial of time; a matter of comparative unimportance and little interest.

Yet that period includes within itself the most picturesque panorama of events in all the annals of the world. There

lie within its shadow the figure of the wild, untamed savage moving over his native ground in a spirit of mingled ferocity and love of freedom; the black-robed Jesuit struggling against fate and the fierce will of the Iroquois in a spirit of sacrificial fire almost unequaled in the annals of martyrdom; the long procession of French gentlemen and adventurers, *voyageurs* and hunters, streaming up the waterways of the St. Lawrence and scattering over the vast wilderness of half a continent in pursuit of dreams of wealth, or power, or fame; the romantic story of such lives as Iberville le Moyne and Charles de la Tour, such struggles as those of Champlain and the Iroquois, Frontenac and the Americans, Wolfe and Montcalm.

Through the shaded aisles of a primeval forest, over thousands of miles of lake and river and wilderness echo the sounds of that hundred years of war between the French and English for the possession of this continent. Out of these struggles develop the striking incidents of the Revolutionary period and the first conflict for Canadian independence; out of the new condition of affairs then created come the memories of a war, in 1812, which was fought for freedom as fully, and marked by episodes as heroic, as ever were the conflicts of ancient Greek or modern Swiss.

To the constitutional student there are no more interesting pages in history than those describing the developments of the nineteenth century in British America, and none which convey more lessons in the follies of a fanatical freedom, the strength of an hereditary loyalty, the value of a moderate liberty evolving through precedent into practice. The questions connected with the history of Canada are, indeed, at the very root of the annals and present position of the British Empire. He who would understand the situation of to-day

must know something, for instance, of the prolonged struggle between British and American tendencies and influence which permeates the whole modern development of the Canadian people from the annexationist views of Papineau and Mackenzie to the continental aims of Mr. Erastus Wiman or Mr. Goldwin Smith; from the religious and denominational ties of early days between the two countries to the social and commercial relations of a later time; from the early period of American preachers and missionaries and teachers and schoolbooks to the present time of an American cable system and news agencies and literature. He who understands the existing loyalty of Canada to the Empire will then realize in the full light of its history that, despite the ties of tradition and allegiance and sentiment, the maintenance and development of that loyalty is one of the miracles of the century.

To the young men of Canada a knowledge of its history and progress is not only desirable but necessary. To understand the business situation of to-day, information concerning the financial, fiscal, and commercial development of the Dominion is exceedingly useful. To comprehend the position of political parties, the utterances of public men, the principle and practice of national administration, a knowledge of the political struggles and progress of the country is also essential. In all these respects I believe that the following pages may be found of some service.

I have not tried to make this volume a detailed record of dates and incidents. It has rather been my desire to give an interesting narrative of the great events which go to the making of Canada in such a way as to afford a summarized review instead of a more or less dry list of occurrences. At the same time I trust that no event of importance has been

left unrecorded. For a similar reason I have not laden the pages with foot-notes or references to the many hundreds of volumes with which occasion has made me familiar in the preparation of this work and of my "Encyclopædia of Canada." And, in concluding these few prefatory words, I can only add the hope that a book which has been written with sincere belief in our Canadian land and a deep personal admiration for its striking history may be found of interest, and perhaps sow some further seeds of true Canadian sentiment among our people.

J. Castell Hopkins.

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THE STORY OF THE DOMINION

CHAPTER I

DISCOVERIES AND EXPLORATIONS

FLOATING down the stream of the ages have come many interesting myths and traditions regarding the Continent of America and that half of its vast area which has since become the Dominion of Canada. Plato, the Greek, described a mighty island of Atlantis which was supposed to have been submerged by the waters of a boundless sea, but was far more probably shrouded from sight by passing centuries of ignorant indifference. Seneca, the Spanish teacher of the youthful Nero, taught his Imperial pupil of a great continent which should one day defy the darkness of unknown waters and appear beyond the ultimate bounds of Thule. A Chinese record of the fifth century indicates a possible Buddhist visit to Mexico; and Welsh traditions of a later date record the mythical voyage of Madoc, in the twelfth century, to a far western country where he saw many strange sights and scenes. The sifting influence of historic research has, however, left these and many other stories to take their place beside the romantic quest for the Golden Fleece and similar legends of an olden time.

VOYAGES OF THE NORSEMEN

More satisfactory, because more stable in basis, are the records of Norse invasion and Viking adventure. Sailing from out their rugged shores about the middle of the Christian era, these wandering ocean warriors played a great part in the history of lands bordering upon the sea. Brave to

rashness, and sturdy and stubborn in pursuit of gold, or silver, or precious stones, they made piracy almost respectable in days when power belonged to him who could hold it, and property to him who could take it. There seems little reason to doubt that the small but strong wooden vessels of the sea-kings sighted the shores of America and beached their prows on the coast of Canada. Iceland and the Faroe Islands, we know, were settled by the Norsemen in the ninth century. Eric the Red, of Norway, occupied the coast of Greenland in A.D. 986, and one of his colonists was a little later swept by stormy seas into sight of unknown lands to the south and west. Leif Ericson, in the year 1000, undertook the exploration of these strange new regions, and appears to have touched the continent where Labrador now is. Other points which he claims to have seen were called Helluland, Markland, and Vinland. Whether these places were really the Island of Newfoundland, the coast of Nova Scotia, and the shores of Massachusetts, as is respectively alleged, will probably remain a hopelessly disputed point.

TALES OF VIKING HEROES

There are strong reasons for believing in some measure the truth of the Icelandic Sagas, from whence these traditions are derived, and it is probable that the songs which thus sing weird tales of Viking heroes upon the Atlantic shores of Canada and the United States have a firmer ground of fact to support their swelling words than has many an accepted event of old-time Eastern and European history. Still, so far as the world at large was concerned, nothing but faint rumors and mythical tales had resulted from these passing settlements upon the soil of America or sweeping glimpses of its lonely shores.

To really make this vast region known to humanity required a period of growing maritime commerce as well as of stirring adventure—a time when the Orient, with its wealth of mystery and romance, of silks and spices, of gold and silver and gems, was being brought closer to the eye

and the mind of Europe. It required the discovery of the compass and the wider knowledge of navigation which grew so naturally out of that event. It was made imminent by the Portuguese discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, in 1486, and inevitable by the growth of British maritime ambitions and the sea-dog spirit of the sturdy islanders. It became a fact when Columbus, after imbibing the love of the sea from his birthplace of Genoa, sailed the Mediterranean and the nearer waters of the Atlantic for twenty years and then made up his mind to discover a direct route to the East Indies. For long after coming to this conclusion, he haunted the courts of Europe, and finally impressed his belief in these new lands, and his faith in a new route to the East, upon the generous Isabella of Castile. The discovery of San Salvador and other islands of the West India group which followed, in the memorable year 1492, opened the way not only to a new world in territorial magnitude, but to the greatest empires of history and to newer civilizations and larger liberties.

CABOT'S PLACE IN HISTORY

It remained, however, for a Venetian, sailing under the flag of England, to first touch the mainland of the continent. John Cabot has only now, after lying in the silence of forgotten dust during four long centuries, come into recognized honor and deserved renown. Whether, in 1497, he touched the shores of Canada amid the cold and ice of Labrador, or in the wilder country of Nova Scotia, there seems every reason to believe that he did reach it somewhere between those two regions.* A monument at Bristol, from

* Authorities differ greatly in opinion as to Cabot's landing-place. Judge Prowse believes that he first touched the shores of Newfoundland, while Dr. Harvey favors the Cape Breton theory. Labrador is supported by H. Harrisse, and in earlier days by Humboldt and Biddle. But the bulk of modern opinion, including Sir Clements Markham, Signor Tarducci, R. G. Thwaites, and Sir J. G. Bourinot, is strongly in favor of Cape Breton as the landing-place. This view has recently received almost conclusive support and proof at the hands of Dr. S. E. Dawson, of Ottawa.

which he sailed, and a memorial at Halifax, which he made possible as a British seaport and city, agree in marking the great importance of his work. Columbus, of course, had preceded him in touching the island fringe of the continent; but the great unknown mainland still rested in the shadow of silent ages. And it is now remembered at the bar of history that Cabot sailed seas of a stormier character than Columbus ever saw; that his resources were infinitely less; that his rewards were far smaller, while his life-work was disregarded for centuries.

Yet it was he who first planted the English flag upon American shores, and paved the way for English settlements in Newfoundland and English naval supremacy in western seas. His discovery gave an immediate impetus also to the maritime spirit of England, and it supplied a later claim for her to share in the soil and history and stirring development of the whole American continent.

Following Columbus and Cabot came a stream of adventurers, explorers, and navigators. Sebastian, a son of John Cabot, sailed along the shores of the new land from Nova Scotia to the region of Hudson's Straits and was probably appalled by the melancholy dreariness of the coasts of Labrador. The eastern coast, further to the south, was explored in 1498 by Americus Vespucius, and after him the whole continent came in time to be called. A few years later, Cortereal, a Portuguese, inspired by the enterprise which in those days gave his country an empire of commerce and unappreciated soil, explored the shores of Newfoundland and Labrador and inaugurated the intercourse of Europeans with the Red men by carrying a number of them away into slavery. In 1506, Denis of Honfleur, a Frenchman of unrecorded position, visited the future Gulf of St. Lawrence and boldly declared the whole region annexed to France and subject to its Crown. He brought back with him a kidnapped Indian child, which represented the brutal instincts of so-called civilization when in contact with barbarism; a considerable fund of knowledge which

presently resulted in the appearance of Cartier upon the scene; and a basis of claim to territory and possibilities of power which might have made Francis the greatest of European sovereigns and his "Field of the Cloth of Gold" a reality rather than a pageant.

It was not indeed the fault of French courage and enterprise if the land of Francis I, and Henry IV, and Louis XIV, did not become greater in the extent of its realm than Spain in even the palmiest days of its power or Great Britain at the present time. In 1534, Jacques Cartier, a Breton mariner of some repute, a protegé of Philippe de Brion-Chabot, who was himself deep in the King's favor and a fervent believer in the policy of extending the King's empire in these unknown regions, set sail from St. Malo with two small ships containing 120 men, and with dreams of power and performance which we can only estimate from the dauntless bearing of the man in difficulties and dangers of an after time and from the portraits of that rugged, alert, keen-eyed countenance which have come down to us.

CARTIER'S DISCOVERIES

Reaching the coasts of Newfoundland on May 10th he passed on to the Gulf of St. Lawrence and along the shores of the future Prince Edward Island to the mainland of New Brunswick. The season was opportune and his delighted men, as well as himself, reveled in a region of fertility and beauty which fairly enchanted their senses. Forests rich in the green shades of early summer, meadows full of rippling streams and wild fruits and colored blossoms, rivers crowded with salmon and other fish, and even the air itself teeming with wild pigeons, greeted the surprised explorers. Indians, few in number but friendly in disposition, met and welcomed them. In July Cartier sailed away to further ventures with a natural feeling of elation in his heart at what he had already seen and experienced. The entrance to Miramichi Bay was passed, the sheltered beauties of an indentation which Cartier called the Baie des

Chaleurs was left behind, the Gaspé shore was reached and here, with appropriate ceremony, Cartier set up a cross thirty feet in height bearing upon it a shield with the arms of France. After appeasing the Indians, who had taken some natural alarm at this action, he foolishly trapped two young savages and carried them away with him as practical proofs of his work and discoveries. Then, without further effort, though at this time in sight of the shores of Anticosti and at the threshold of the noble river which he was afterward to call the St. Lawrence, Cartier turned his prows homeward and once more faced the wide waters of the Atlantic.

CARTIER'S SECOND VOYAGE

Like Cabot and Columbus he had little true conception of the land he had just left. To him, and to the imaginative people who received him in triumph at St. Malo, or listened with eagerness to the tales of adventure and discovery which grew in volume and vagueness as they traversed the interior, it was a fertile and lonely island and the great gulf of which he had partly coasted the shores was a gateway to the eastern passage which had so long been sought to the land of Cathay—the region of gold and romance and dreams. Popular enthusiasm was aroused. The King was stirred by new visions of empire and tribute. The priest was roused by the knowledge of new peoples to convert. The trader was interested by new possibilities of commerce and barter. As a consequence, Cartier sailed again from St. Malo, on May 19, 1535, with three small ships, an aristocratic company of passengers, and the hopes and prayers of many.

Once again he came in sight of Anticosti, which he called Assumption, and then approached a bay which received the memorable name of St. Lawrence from the Saint whose feast day it chanced to be. Up the great river went the interested and charmed explorers, touching the grand and gloomy portals of the Saguenay, passing the tree-clad Isle aux Coudres, shunning the black shadows of Cape Tour-

mente, reveling in the wild vines and luxurious vegetation of l'Ile d'Orleans. There they received and conciliated the countless savages who came gliding in their swift and silent canoes from all the shores of the vast waterway to see what these strange white men, with their stranger white-winged and monstrous canoes, were doing on the little island which for the moment they had called the Isle of Bacchus.

Leaving this place after a somewhat difficult but friendly conference with Donnacona, the chief of these regions, Cartier's little squadron sailed further up the river and cast anchor at the mouth of the St. Charles and in view of the Indian village of Stadacona, as it nestled under the beetling crags which were soon to see above them the crowning ramparts of Quebec. Hence the ever-delighted explorers went on up the great river, and through the Lake St. Peter, until they reached the Indian town of Hochelaga where it nestled under forest-crowned heights to which Cartier gave the name of Mount Royal. The expedition had been so far like some swiftly passing dream of pleasure. The sights and scenes of the noble river; the flushing, shifting gorgeousness of summer and autumnal colors in the vast primeval forests which lined its banks; the unbroken wildness and occasional sombre splendor of cliff and crag and promontory; the panorama of passing savage life and the unstinted hospitality of admiring and worshiping natives at Orleans, at Stadacona and now at Hochelaga—were enough to surely warrant the adventurous settlers in looking forward with confidence to the future. They returned, after a few days, to Stadacona loaded down with gifts from the friendly natives—boats heaped with fish and ripened corn—and with memories of a respect tinged with reverence and a confidence in their honor and goodness which should never have been shattered.

But they had no real knowledge of what was coming to counterbalance the period of pleasantness now rapidly passing away. A glimpse at Acadie in days of summer loveliness, or of the shores of the St. Lawrence garbed in autumnal beauty, was but ill preparation for the blasts of winter which,

in its most intense form of cold and its greatest abundance of ice and snow, was soon to be on them. By the time, indeed, that they had got their vessels into a sort of sheltered inclosure, and put up some rough structures for themselves, the change had come.

A WINTER OF MUCH SUFFERING

The terrors of that winter can hardly be adequately described. All about the prospective settlers was a boundless area of snow and ice. Their clothing was thin and adapted only to a mild and pleasant clime. Their fears were in proportion to their ignorance, and their sufferings, from a malignant form of scurvy, were as great as from cold and other hardships. Twenty-five of the men died, and by the time of early spring, with its first welcome signs of warmth and of the passing away of that overwhelming nightmare of surrounding whiteness, the balance of the little party were tottering in feebleness on the brink of the grave. Fortunately, the Indians had been kind, though suffering somewhat themselves, and in spite of their natural hardiness, from the severity of the winter. They had prescribed a simple mixture for the sick which proved efficacious, and, indeed, probably saved the lives of the remaining white men.

As soon as the loosening ice on the river permitted, Cartier turned two of his ships homeward, leaving one behind, to be found, 307 years afterward (1843), sunk in the bed of the St. Charles. Before going he seized Donnacona and nine of his chiefs, as visible trophies for the eye of France, and as a lasting, though unintended, monument to his own folly and ingratitude. They died without seeing again their native land, and, in dying, left a legacy of future bitterness and pain to French settlers and the white man generally, which it was well for Cartier he could not anticipate.

Again, in 1541, the intrepid explorer, with the patronage and co-operation of the Sieur de Roberval, a wealthy nobleman of Picardy, started for this scene of mingled pleasures and privations. Francis I had, in the meantime, recovered

a little from years of conflict with his powerful rival Charles V of Spain and of the Holy Roman Empire, and had made De Roberval Viceroy of New France, with Cartier as Captain-General. The latter arrived at Stadacona in August and commenced a settlement a few miles higher up the river, which he called Charlesbourg; and there he began to cultivate the soil and build a fort. The natives naturally proved unfriendly when they found that their chiefs had not returned with the white men, and the winter which ensued was full of gloom and disheartening privation. A couple of vessels had been sent back to France for aid before the cold season began, but, with the first flush of springtime and without waiting their return, Cartier pulled up his stakes and started for home. Off the coast of Newfoundland he met De Roberval, himself, with three ships, plenty of provisions, and 200 new colonists of both sexes, and was commanded to return. But Cartier seems to have lost both head and heart so far as this enterprise was concerned and to have longed for a sight once more of the fair shores of sunny France. Whatever the reason, he disobeyed the orders of his superior and escaped during the night with his vessels and men.

De Roberval went on to his destination, put up a large building for the mixed purpose of accommodation and defence and prepared to face a winter of whose severity he only knew by vague hearsay. The privations of the season were enhanced by the unfriendliness of the natives as well as by the character of the convicts who constituted a large portion of his following. Sixty men perished during these weary months from cold, or hunger, or scurvy, while the cord and whip and prison found a place in connection with many others of the insubordinate, would-be colonists. In the spring De Roberval, who was a brave and venturesome leader, attempted to explore the unknown interior, but without success and with the loss of some eight men by drowning. He clung to his settlement, however, during another winter of hardships and then at last fled back to France. Five years later, when his memories of scurvy and starvation, of snow

and ice, of hand-to-mouth living upon fish and roots, had become somewhat dimmed, or perhaps forgotten in a sudden rush of summer recollections and memories of the wild free life of the primeval forest and rolling rivers of the new world, De Roberval started again for the scene which seems to have had such intense fascination for those who once breathed its vastness of air and space.

The result of that expedition of 1549 is one of the mysteries of history, and, whether the tradition of its sailing up the dark waters of the Saguenay and being lost while searching for some land of gold and jewels and alleged enchantment is true, or not, will never be really known. It seems probable, however, that the gallant nobleman and his followers were either swallowed up in a storm at sea, or lost as the first European victims of an Indian fear which was soon to change into a bitter hatred. Cartier lived some years longer to enjoy the quiet of home life and the pleasures of a patent of nobility which had come to the brave seaman of St. Malo as a reward for the efforts of his stirring and vigorous career.

THE FRENCH AND THE ENGLISH

During the next fifty years these adventurous efforts to found a New France beyond the seas were forgotten in the storms of internal dissension and war which came to old France. England, which in the period just considered had been devoting the energies of her picturesque buccaneers and always gallant seamen to the gold-ships of Spain and the settlements on South American shores, or in the West Indies, made by the same great Power, now turned her attention to the north. Sir Martin Frobisher set foot on the coasts of Labrador in 1576; Sir Francis Drake in the following year sighted the snowy mountain-tops of British Columbia; Sir Humphry Gilbert, in 1583, led an expedition of well-equipped and gallant colonists to the shores of Newfoundland and took possession of the island, whose harbors were thronged by cod-fishing fleets from France, Spain, Portugal, and England,

in the name of Queen Elizabeth. He established English authority, enacted various laws, and proclaimed, under Royal charter, his possession of the soil for 600 miles in every direction from St. John's—a region which included New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Labrador, and part of Quebec, as they are in modern days. Considerable exploring work was done by the gallant Admiral, whose character of mingled truth and gentleness and dauntless courage fills such an attractive page in history. It was beautifully exemplified as he sat in the stern of his frail and foundering vessel, during the return voyage to England in the stormy winter season, and sank to his final rest with the words of consolation to his crew: "Cheer up, lads; we are as near to Heaven at sea as on land."

Once more, as the century drew to its close, French enterprise began to reassert itself and the mantle of the ill-fated De Roberval was taken up by a nobleman of Brittany, the Marquis de la Roche. In 1598 he obtained appointment from the King as Viceroy of New France and prepared an expedition of one ship, which he filled with a crew gathered from the common prisons. It was an ill beginning with a worse ending. He reached, in summer season, the shifting sands of Sable Island, and found there plenty of good water and herds of wild cattle, bred from those left by de Lery's settlement of eighty years before. It seemed an excellent place to leave his convict colonists at while he went on a further voyage of exploration. He landed them for a period, which he promised should be brief, and started for the mainland, only to be swept out to sea by a sudden storm and back to France. There he was seized by a powerful rival and consigned to prison. When at last he got word to King Henry and was allowed to take a ship out to the rescue of his would-be settlers, it was to find himself face to face with one of the dark tragedies of history, and to discover only a pitiful remnant of shaggy, despairing creatures, who looked more like brutes than men.

They had, at first, been delighted with their liberty, with the balmy freshness of the summer air, with the brief abun-

dance of fresh meat and the wild berries clustering to the lip. But the cattle began to disappear, time commenced to hang heavy on their hands, no returning ship was visible, the heat was occasionally intense, and was suddenly succeeded by the first storms of autumn sweeping over the low and unprotected surface of the level, treeless island. Then came the sense of desertion, the feeling of unutterable despair, the loneliness of intense isolation, the cruel, uncontrolled passion of men without moral or religious scruple. They fought and tried to kill each other, and then there came sweeping down, and around them, the wintry storms of the wildest and most exposed spot on the whole Atlantic Coast. How any of them ever survived that winter is a marvel—that some did live through it is a fact. Broken in health and heart and fortune, De la Roche returned to France with the miserable remnant of his expedition, and died soon afterward.

Meanwhile an effort had been made by a naval officer of Rouen, named Chauvin, and a trader of St. Malo, called Pontgravé, to establish a colony on the shores of the St. Lawrence for purposes of fur-trading. They procured from the King certain rights of monopoly, and the beginning was made of what eventually became a great business. The small settlement started for this purpose at Tadoussac, near the junction of the Saguenay and the St. Lawrence, was not, however, as successful in a colonizing sense. Sixteen men were left to hold the port through the winter of 1599, and, in the very season which proved so fatal to the miserable refugees on Sable Island, the ill-equipped and ignorant colonists on the mainland were dying of cold and starvation. When the spring traders came again they found their little colony broken up, and only two or three survivors living among the Indians. The fur-trade was continued, but no further effort at colonization was made at this time.

Elsewhere, and amid very different surroundings, the continent was being claimed or explored. Balboa had discovered the Pacific Ocean and dispelled the dream of America being a part of Asia. Spain, at the hands of Cortez and Pi-

zarro and Ponce de Leon, had conquered or claimed the empires of Mexico and Peru and the wilder glades of Florida. England had established a fugitive settlement or two in Virginia, and Port Royal was soon to be founded and Acadie become a historic name on the Atlantic Coast of the present Dominion.

THE CAREER OF CHAMPLAIN

The pivotal point in the establishment of Canada, or New France, was, however, the career of Champlain. This greatest character in the early period of its history was a gentleman by birth and a native of Bruage, on the Biscayan coast, where he was born in 1567. He became a Captain of the Royal Marines in later years and was a soldier in the wars of the League, under Henry of Navarre. With a combined experience of sea and shore, the inspiration of Henry's patriotic character, the possession of personal qualities of courage, chivalry, and religious zeal, Champlain was an ideal pioneer leader. In him the zeal of the missionary is said to have tempered the fire of patriotism, and there is no question of a devotion to duty which scorned privation and disappointment, and a courage which endured all things for the achievement of a far-away end. When internal peace came to France, by the accession of Henry IV, Champlain had soon tired of the life of Courts and had journeyed to the West Indies and Mexico. It was, therefore, very natural when the King turned his attention and ambition to the new world, and Aymar de Chastes, Governor of Dieppe, was given permission to resume the work of colonization, that he should see in Champlain the man for the work. It was readily taken up by him, and, in 1603, accompanied by Pontgravé of fur-trade fame, and commanding two tiny vessels of twelve and fifteen tons burden, he crossed the stormy seas, sailed up the solitary St. Lawrence, passed the deserted outpost of Tadoussac, the now vacant site of the Indian village at Stadacona, the ruined buildings of Cartier at Cape Rouge, and came in time to the tenantless site of the once beautiful and flourishing Hochelaga.

Neither the mighty rock of Quebec, nor the lofty sides of Mount Royal, now sheltered the wigwams and huts of the one-time friendly natives. Nothing was done by the expedition, excepting the capture of a cargo of furs, and on their return the two leaders found, to their serious loss, that the generous De Chastes was dead and that Henry's mind was filled for the moment with other thoughts.

For a year after this, Champlain remained in France, and then accompanied De Monts and Poutrincourt upon their colonizing venture in Acadie, the land of winter ice and snow and summer loveliness—changing conditions which it seemed impossible for the early French settlers to fully grasp in all their significance of needed preparation and adaptation. Then followed the ups and downs of several years, the foundation of Port Royal and its capture by the English, who, meanwhile, had been making firm their ground in Virginia, as they did a little later in Newfoundland and endeavored to do on the shores of Hudson's Bay. The unfortunate navigator who gave his name to the great inland sea lost his life in its exploration, though he left behind an English claim to sovereignty of its shores based upon his service under an English King. Before this occurred Champlain had tired of the plots and complications of Acadian settlement, and, under the patronage of Sieur de Monts, and accompanied by Pontgravé, had turned his attention once more to the St. Lawrence and to what was to be the great work of his life.

In 1608, therefore, the determined colonizer and the vigorous trader started together up the great and silent river and reached again the spot where Stadacona had once stood. Upon the deserted site, and under the shelter of the beetling rock upon which his future fortress was to be established, Champlain laid the foundations of Quebec. It was but a village, square in shape, with wooden buildings, and surrounded by a wooden wall and ditch, fortified by bastions and guns. But it was enough for the moment and to the man who had the instinct of empire and government in his breast. Before very long he detected and suppressed with

severe punishments a plot on the part of the fur-traders to do away with his stern but wholesome rule, and to make trade the entire aim, instead of the subsidiary condition, of the settlement. The chief conspirator was promptly hanged, and others were sent to France in chains, or condemned to the galleys.

AN EVENT OF LASTING CONSEQUENCES

During the following year occurred an event which had lasting consequences, and was the nominal cause of the prolonged and bloody conflict between Iroquois and French. Its importance has probably been exaggerated, as the feud was inevitable in any case. The Iroquois would have brooked no rival to their savage empire had Champlain never given any assistance to the Hurons, whom they had long intended to crush, and did eventually crush. Moreover, they were quick as the wolves, which roamed the wilderness in countless numbers, to detect the presence of danger, and, no doubt, had already heard traditions and plentiful rumors of the conduct of Cartier and other explorers in deceiving and seizing friendly natives — perhaps members of wandering bands with which they may have been on friendly terms. Be that as it may, however, Champlain did certainly precipitate the issue when, in the early summer of 1609, he espoused the cause of the Ottawa Algonquins, as friends and allies of the Hurons, and started from Quebec with eleven Frenchmen and a flotilla of canoes filled with Indians to attack the fiercest and ablest of all the Indian tribes or nations. Three-fourths of the native followers early deserted the expedition as the result of a quarrel, and he sent back all but two of his own men to Quebec.

Then, with only sixty Indians in his train, but with a dauntless bearing and determination which carried all before him, the "man with the iron breast" proceeded upon his journey into the vast, unknown interior. Over rapids and foaming falls, upon varied rivers and great lakes, through dense forests and a primeval wilderness, the intrepid soldier

fought his way. He discovered the Lake Champlain of a later day, and upon its shores met the Iroquois in battle. It was a picturesque scene. Here, amid forests centuries old, the military civilization of Europe stood for the first time face to face with the not ignoble savagery of America. Champlain, with his steel breastplate and plumed casque, his matchlock in hand, his sword by his side, and his little group of followers behind him, quietly awaited the attack of two hundred of the fiercest, tallest, and strongest savages of the new world! The war-whoop of the Indians was met by a discharge from the French leader's matchlock, which killed or wounded three of the Iroquois braves. This use of lightning to destroy his enemies with was too much for the superstition of the natives, and they fled precipitately. Many were killed and some captured, and Champlain, for the first time, beheld the tortures of which he had probably heard much, and which the Algonquins at once proceeded to inflict upon the prisoners.

During the succeeding year Champlain took another journey and reached the mouth of the Richelieu, where he once more fought and overcame a body of Iroquois who had, in this case, placed themselves inside a barricade which had to be stormed and captured. In 1613, the adventurous pioneer, with only five companions and two small canoes, went on a long journey of exploration. He passed with difficulty around the Longue Sault and Carillon Rapids, paddled up the Ottawa to the Rideau Falls and the foaming cataract of the Chaudière, and reached Allumette Island. There he rested for a while before turning back, while all around him was the solitude of vast wilds unbroken by any sounds save those of nature. Champlain imagined much and hoped much, but not even he, with all his visionary expectations of finding a path to the silks and spices of the Far East, could have dreamed of this very region one day becoming the home of splendid legislative halls and the seat of government in a great British country. Two years later he organized another expedition against the Iroquois, and this

time pushed further up the Ottawa until he reached the Mattawa, crossed by a short *portage* into Lake Nipissing, and thence descended the French River until the vast expanse of Lake Huron was reached. Upon the shores of Georgian Bay, its great inlet, he collected an Indian force from among the palisaded villages of the Hurons which then crowded the rolling and fertile fields of the future County of Simcoe.

EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE IROQUOIS

In September he led a large war party by the channel of the Trent to Lake Ontario, crossed it at a narow point and then, leaving their canoes, his Indians stole like shadows through the brilliant autumnal woods till they came to a well-guarded and palisaded town of the Onondagas. A sudden and wild attack was repulsed, the lessons in skilled warfare which Champlain had tried to give his reckless braves were unobserved, and a second onslaught met with the same result. He himself was wounded, his prestige was largely gone, and the Hurons became thoroughly disheartened. Reinforcements were awaited, but did not come, and, five days later, they made haste homeward, carrying with them a leader who was suffering from a sore heart as well as a wounded body. Promises to take him back to Quebec were broken, and he had to winter among the tribes. With him, however, was the Recollet priest, Le Caron, and Champlain occupied his time by helping in the foundation of a mission, in visiting allied tribes, and in patching up a dispute between the Algonquins and the Hurons. In the spring he returned to Quebec, and was welcomed by those who had given up all hope of ever seeing him again.

This was his last distant expedition of a warlike or exploring character. In 1620, the Iroquois came swarming down upon the French fortress at Quebec and around the stone convent of the Recollets on the St. Charles, but were unable to do more than harry the country and capture some Hurons who, in one case, were tortured to death before

the eyes of the horrified priests of the St. Charles. A little later, Champlain had to suppress a plot for the destruction of Quebec among an Algonquin tribe—the Montagnais—whom he had greatly befriended and helped, and whose treachery cut him to the quick. But, although no more active campaigns were undertaken by him, he had to face the continued and sleepless hatred of the Iroquois, and no man knew from day to day and year to year at what moment the war-whoop of the savage might not be heard from the four quarters of the horizon. Some good came out of the evil which the brave Frenchman had created by increasing and deepening the hostility of the Iroquois. It made the Hurons more amenable to French and missionary influence, and this Champlain would have considered the greatest of all good ends.

DISCOVERY OF THE GREAT LAKES

Champlain, during this part of his career, had discovered Lake Champlain and Lake Nipissing, Lake Huron and Lake Ontario, and had explored the great Ottawa and many a lesser stream. He had proven the pioneer of French energy in a vast region to which he laid claim in the name of his King. This was much for one man to do, but it was by no means all that he achieved. From 1612 to 1629, from 1633 to his death two years later, he governed strongly and well the New France which he fondly hoped was going to be a great empire for his country and his race. During these years his difficulties were immense. Not only was there trouble with the Indians and with refractory settlers, but there was the reckless criminality of the fur-traders, who corrupted the savages with brandy and too often taught them other phases of immorality which they had never known. Over and over again the lordship, or viceroyalty, of New France changed hands. There was neither continuity of system nor government. The Associated Merchants of St. Malo and Rouen held power for a time under the nominal rule of the Prince de Condé and strove in vain to

oust Champlain from his position. Then two Huguenot gentlemen — brothers named de Caen — obtained the fur-trading monopoly, and religious disputes began to trouble a Colony shadowed at that very moment by the scalping-knife of the Iroquois. To them succeeded the Duc de Ventadour, whose object was neither trade nor settlement, but the salvation of souls. Under his patronage Jesuit priests began to pour into the country, and to follow the savages to their lairs in every part of a vast and unknown region.

Another change came when Richelieu succeeded to power in France. He strengthened Champlain's hands for the moment, founded in 1628 the Company of the Hundred Associates, with Champlain as a member, and with a charter of trade and power extending over New France, Acadie, Newfoundland, and Florida; proclaimed the Colony an absolutely Catholic possession, and forbade the settlement of a Protestant within its bounds; pledged the Company to send out 6,000 settlers within fifteen years; and gave to the Company, as a personal gift from the King, two well-armed battleships. But all this was of little avail for some years. War was being waged with England, supplies had been cut off, the little Colony was starving or living upon roots, and, in 1629, Admiral Kirke sailed up the St. Lawrence and captured the place. By the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, in 1632, New France and Acadie were given up again by England, Champlain was restored to his post, the settlement became a devout centre for the conversion of savages, lawlessness was suppressed, and trading interests were made subservient to administrative necessities. Everything promised a prolonged period of peace and progress.

On Christmas Day, 1635, however, the only man who could have achieved such conditions in a permanent sense died suddenly, with a horizon of hoped-for rest and happiness in full view. During five years of the earlier period his brave wife had lived with him, and then he had insisted upon taking her back to France. But for years he had been without her, and was now looking forward to a settled home

and a reasonably quiet life in this Colony which he had founded and guarded and nursed as a mother might her only child. He had fought the Iroquois, fought the convict spirit of early settlers, fought the intrigues of court and religious interests, fought the fur-traders' greed and cruelty, fought the English invader and the still worse enemies of cold and hunger. He had conquered all, but was now, at last, himself beaten by death. His career presents a most striking picture, and he well deserves his place as a hero, not only of French Canada, but of all Canada, whether French or English.

LA SALLE AND THE INTERIOR

During these later years others besides Champlain had been traversing the wilds and noting the location of vast, unknown bodies of water. Jesuit priests and French trappers and hunters passed up the rivers and reached the shores of countless lakes—south and east and west from the St. Lawrence. The one class was seeking souls and the other furs—but they all traversed new regions and encountered the forces of nature in some of its greatest environments. Lake Michigan was sighted by Jean Nicolet in 1634, Lake Erie by Fathers Chamonot and Brébeuf in 1640, Lake Superior by some now forgotten *Coureurs de bois* in 1659. Father Marquette and a fur-trader named Jolliete saw the upper waters of the Mississippi for the first time in 1673 and paddled down past the mouths of the Illinois, the Missouri, and the Ohio. Meantime, Nicolas Perrot, a daring adventurer whose career is one long series of thrilling incidents, was the first white man to stand upon the site of Chicago, as, in 1671, Father Albanal was the first European to appear upon the shores of the stormy waters in which Hudson had perished nearly a century before. Seven years from this last date Father Hennepin, looking out from the dense woods he had been traversing amid the sullen roar of some great wonder of nature, beheld the Falls of Niagara in all their primeval splendor and solitude.

Much, therefore, was being done in the later days of Champlain, and more was done in the fifty years which followed, to unroll the map of North America. Still, it was all so vast and vague, the knowledge so varied and detached, that there was little real conception of the connected position of the five Great Lakes, with their innumerable satellites and feeding rivers and their outpour through the St. Lawrence into the sea. The vision of a route to Cathay, or the enchanted East, yet lingered in many minds and even affected the gallant La Salle as, after various adventures, the expenditure of private means upon fur-trading expeditions and minor explorations, he set out in 1682 to find the mouth of the Mississippi, and, perhaps, a passage to China itself. Accompanied by Henri de Tonti, who had proved his right arm in many undertakings, La Salle crossed from Lake Michigan into the current of the Illinois and thence into the great river itself. As they passed down the Mississippi amid Indians, sometimes friendly, sometimes hostile, and for what seemed an almost endless distance, they went from winter into the budding beauties of spring and the ripe richness of summer.

In triumph they reached the mouth of the river and proclaimed the whole vast region a French possession under the name of Louisiana; in triumph they returned to Quebec in the spring of 1683; in triumph La Salle appeared later on at the French Court. As with all these early explorers the fascination of the scene was, however, too great, and he again sailed from France with a strong expedition to find the mouth of the river from the sea and to found a colony which should make the country French in fact as well as in name. He failed to find the place, landed his men some hundreds of miles away, and started overland in search of it. In the heart of the fearful wilderness of forest, swamp, and sluggish streams, his men mutinied, and at their hands died the great explorer.

But his life had once more proved the venturesome courage of his race and had aided the work of Cartier and Champlain, of devoted priest and daring *voyageur*, of fur-trader

and reckless young noble, in opening to France a possible pathway to power and in unrolling the map of a vast continent.

CHAPTER II

THE INDIANS OF EARLY CANADA

THE story of the Indian in North America has never been fully written. Parkman, in brilliant but restricted pages, has described the customs and characteristics of the Iroquois and Hurons as they appeared in the days of the famous struggle with the French. Many volumes of American history have been produced which illustrate and depict the cruelty or treachery of the white man's enemy, but do scant justice to the noble qualities which he undoubtedly possessed. Historic memories yet linger in a myriad villages throughout Canada and the United States, of midnight raids and scalping expeditions and savage rites; while the smoke of blazing settlements and the cry of tortured prisoners echo down the aisles of time and still shadow with gloom and bitterness the pen of the most impartial writer. Especially has this been the case in British America, where the prolonged conflict of the Iroquois and French, and the marvelous heroism of pioneer priests and missionaries, have stirred into ready sympathy the racial sentiment of every student and speaker.

A CHARACTER OF SINGULAR COMPLEXITY

Yet there was much to admire and respect in these savage possessors of the primeval wilderness of America, and of all the aboriginal races the Indians* appear as at once the most picturesque and the most peculiar.

The life of the red man was one of contrasts, his character one of singular complexity. Cruelty toward his foe

* So called from the belief of Columbus that the natives of San Salvador were people akin to those of the East Indies.

was combined with stoical indifference to torture or pain when his own turn came. Treachery in war was a matter of course, yet his faithfulness to friends was a quality whose strength even a Christian civilization might find reasons to emulate. His personal pride was at times so great as to become an insane egotism, yet at other moments his humility stooped to the lowest depths of self-abasement. His self-restraint rose to the heights of an almost heroic self-repression and then disappeared at sudden intervals in bursts of unbridled and utterly savage rage.

He was at once cold and hard and unrelenting in action and passionate and revengeful in disposition. He was ignorant and superstitious by nature in an extreme degree, yet keen and quick of thought beyond modern parallel. He treated his women as do all savage peoples, and considered himself far superior to the necessities of labor or servitude. For him were reserved the lordly occupations of the chase, the spectacular glories of war, the physical victories of self-torture in youthful days and of privations in the wilderness, or upon the warpath, in the days of manhood. Yet he was moral in the highest degree and was never guilty of those weaker and meaner vices which stamped and destroyed the character of the ancient Roman and have left their deep impress upon modern France and the greater cities of our own civilization.

SLEEPLESS SUSPICION OF OTHERS

Love of liberty in its wild primeval form the Indian possessed, to an extent which made him contemptuous of all arbitrary rule or personal control, and affected not a little his relation to the incoming tide of white men. Sleepless suspicion of others formed a natural part of his surroundings of war and treachery and solitude. Like the Italian he preferred to send a secret blow or despatch the shaft of an ambushed arrow, to open fighting or public revenge; while the triumph of holding an enemy's scalp at his belt was to him what the golden spurs of knighthood have been to many

a Christian warrior of old, or the thanks of Parliament and honors from the Crown are to the British soldier of to-day. Like the Spaniard he was dark and sinister in his punishments and retaliations. Like nearly all savage races his warfare was one of sudden and secret surprise, ruthless and ready slaughter. Like the nations of the whites, his tribes also warred continually against each other.

Looking back now upon the vast panorama of forest and prairie, lake and river over which the Indian wandered upon foot or glided in his birch-bark canoe; bearing in mind the stern hardships of the winter season and the wild happy freedom of the summer time; remembering the absence of all high tradition, spiritual influence or intellectual knowledge, one can not but be impressed by the character and conditions of the people who first faced the fire-sticks of Champlain, the more fatal fire-water of the French trader, and the fierce zeal of the Jesuit missionary. A native of the wilds, a product of primeval conditions, the Indian believed in the right and liberty to roam at will over his wide realm of wilderness and water. Just as nature had made him a noble animal, with instincts which at times raised him to a high level of character and achievement; so, also, it filled him at first with simple admiration of the stranger who came with such attractive gifts, such wonderful weapons, and such curious customs. After some experience of the white man's initial follies of policy and action, the instincts of nature, however, changed his confidence into permanent distrust—and this in the case of the American savage meant a more or less sleepless hostility.

When the earlier discoverers and explorers found their way into the wilds of Canada they came into contact and then collision with various Indian tribes or nations. The great family of the Algonquins extended right up through the middle of the continent and constituted the central race of the French possessions—reaching also in scattered masses from the Atlantic to Lake Winnipeg and from the Carolinas to Hudson's Bay. These were the Indians whom Cartier encountered

on the banks of the St. Lawrence, Penn in the forests of the Keystone State, Raleigh upon the coast of Virginia, and Jesuits and fur-traders in the Valley of the Ohio and on the shores of Lake Superior.

Of these people were the Delawares and the Shawnees. The latter were a strange, wandering tribe whose location it is difficult to fix, but who are known to have more than once come into conflict with the French. They eventually settled on Canadian soil and in a later century played a brief but important part under the great Tecumseh. The former were at one time conquered by the more famous Iroquois and compelled to bear the opprobrious Indian name of women; but in one of the French and English wars they recovered at once their courage and their reputation. Other branches dwelt along the Canadian shores of the Atlantic and north and east of Lakes Michigan and Huron. These latter tribes included the Ojibbiways, Pottawattamies, and Ottawas, and at one time formed a loose and fluctuating alliance for the purpose of opposing the course of Iroquois conquest. In this region also were the Sacs, the Foxes, and other smaller divisions of the Algonquin race. The Nova Scotian offshoots have since been called Mic-macs, those of western New Brunswick were named Etchemins, while the Montagnais of Quebec and the Nipissings of the far North shared the same ancestral tree.

THE IROQUOIS INDIANS

But the great race of American history was the Iroquois, which stretched across what afterward became known as the State of New York, and made for itself a name of terror upon the shores of the Great Lakes and far down the Atlantic coast. The Iroquois comprised in themselves both the best and the worst traits of savage nature as developed by the solitudes of North America. Intense in their pride, lustful in their desire for conquest, savage in their cruelties, they were also able in organizing power, strong in a sort of barbaric intellectual strength, constant alike in friendship

and hatred, energetic beyond all comparison. Traditions which have a force almost equal to historic fact record the birth of their power in the fifteenth century under the leadership, and by the statecraft, of a chief named Hiawatha.

He it was, who—according to the translation of Indian wampum records by the late Dr. Horatio Hale—conceived the plan of a vast native confederation which should turn the mind of the Indian from fighting to the paths of peace and contentment. He it was who devised the famous Iroquois system of separate nations controlling their own local affairs but lodging general interests in the hands of a common council of all the nations, capable of indefinite expansion in the number of tribes included, and a weapon, therefore, of enormous power in the hands of an able man. Into the proposed league Hiawatha eventually drew the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Cayugas, the Senecas, and the Onondagas. Writing toward the end of the eighteenth century, and amid influences of surrounding hatred and hostility which made any kind of fair play to the Indian difficult, the Hon. Cadwallader Colden—a well-known New York historian—says of the Iroquois organization and polity as it appeared in his day, that:

"Each of these nations is an absolute republic in itself. The authority of the rulers is gained by, and consists wholly in, the opinion the rest of the nation have of their wisdom and integrity. Honor and esteem are their principal rewards, as shame and being despised are their punishments. Their great men, both sachems and captains, are generally poorer than the common people, for they affect to give away and distribute all the presents and plunder they get in their treaties or in war. There is not a man in the Ministry (Council) of the Five Nations who has gained his office otherwise than by merit, and there is not the least salary, or any sort of profit annexed to any office to tempt the covetous or sordid."

The bitter enemies, and eventual victims, of the Iroquois were the Huron tribes of the regions bordering on Georgian Bay and in the vicinity of Lake Simcoe. They were variously recorded in history or tradition as numbering from ten to twenty thousand souls and were certainly of a higher type than other savage races of their time. In many respects

the Huron and Iroquois were alike and in fact were related in the tribal sense. The nature of their dwelling-houses, their stockaded villages and cultivated lands, their habits of permanent settlement, were very similar; as were many of their manners, customs, and superstitions. From 1609, for nearly eighty years, they remained deadly rivals and then the weaker disappeared from view. Meanwhile, however, many pages of history had to be written in deeds of struggle and slaughter before that time came, although the steady progress of the Iroquois is always noticeable.

The Neutral Nation, living along the north shore of Lake Erie, and striving for a while to remain friends with both the rival tribes; the Andastes, dwelling in fortified villages in the far valley of the Susquehanna; the Eries, living in the vicinity of the lake which bears their name, were all of kin to the Iroquois and were all conquered and practically destroyed by that ambitious federation of savages. Then came the conquest of the Delawares, or Lenapes, and the expulsion of the Ottawas from the vicinity of the great river which now runs past the capital of Canada. Fortunately for the future of the white people, though unfortunately for a certain barbaric civilization which might in time have been evolved, the Five Nations had forgotten the teachings of Hiawatha and, while sensible of the benefits which came from their own union, did not grasp the ideal which might have extended that union until it included all the Indian tribes and evolved a force which might have swept the French into the St. Lawrence. A glimmer of this idea was apparent in the admission of the Tuscaroras when final success had become impossible; a despairing perception of it came fifty years later to a natural genius in the person of Pontiac as he organized the league of Indian tribes which resulted in a prolonged and bloody struggle.

As it was, however, the Iroquois in their fighting strength and influence present a striking picture upon the page of history, and it was well, indeed, that their constructive force did not equal their destructive power. Yet they could never

have numbered more than five thousand warriors, all told. Swift and silent movement from place to place, perfect familiarity with every stick and stone, every sign and symbol, every sense and sound of forest life, enabled them to use their small numbers with a weight out of all apparent proportion. But it was really the same with all the savage races of North America, though in differing degrees. Garneau, in his "History of French Canada," estimates the Algonquin population when the French first came into contact with them at 90,000, the Hurons and Iroquois together at about 17,000, the Mobiles of the far south at 30,000, and the Cherokees of what is now the centre of the United States at 12,000. His total is 180,000 for the greater part of the continent, and, in view of the privations undergone in winter time and the constant conditions of warfare involved, it is probable that this estimate is fairly correct. The statements and suppositions of travelers such as Cartier, Jolliete, Marquette, De la Jonquière, and others, help also to indicate the probability of his figures.

THE INDIANS PAST AND PRESENT

So far as can now be judged the original Indian—the aborigine of pre-Cartier days—was not naturally inclined to hostility toward the new-comers, and was, in fact, more disposed to hospitality. He had much of curiosity in his character as well as of superstition, and both qualities might have been utilized in the direction of peace and educative influences. Hakluyt, in his account of Cartier's first visit to Hochelaga, lays great stress upon the bountiful generosity of the natives. Turnbull, in his work upon Connecticut, pays them an unusual American tribute, and says the natives practically saved the lives of the first settlers by their generosity in supplying corn and other food. Similar experiences have been recorded by others, and the response which history stamps upon the white man is found in such kidnapping episodes as have already been described, in the aggressive policy of Champlain, in the harshness of the New England settlers, in the cruelties of the Spaniards to the

south, in the indescribable horrors of the Cortez and Pizarro campaigns.

The character of the Indian, in days when the whole wild continent was his, differs so greatly from the emasculated product of modern civilization that no judgment of former conditions can be based upon present appearances. Though the matter of origin has never been settled, there were similarities which stamped the savages of America as possible descendants of migrating Tartars from the steppes of Central Asia. They were, as a rule, tall and slender and agile in form, with faces bronzed by sun and wind and rain. Their expression was stern and sombre, seldom or never marked by a smile. Their heads had high cheek-bones, small, sunken, and keenly flashing eyes, narrow foreheads, thick lips, somewhat flat noses, and coarse hair. The senses of sight and sound and smell and feeling were developed into a sort of forest instinct, which seemed almost supernatural to the early white settlers, and finds such vivid expression in Fenimore Cooper's brilliant romances. Their costume of deerskin and moccasins, their necklaces of wampum and shells, their ornaments of feathers, claws, or scalps, their fondness for daubing the body and face with vermilion paint, their use of the arrow, the tomahawk, and the scalping-knife, soon became terribly familiar to the ring of white man, who, century by century, slowly drove in and dispossessed these earlier owners of the soil—as it is not improbable they had driven the still more ancient race whose mounds and buried cities and curious remains still excite the wonder of the archæologist, from the far north to the farthest south.

Hunting, or fishing, was the occupation of these Arabs of the American wilderness, fighting their continual pastime. Hence, permanent dwelling-places were not usual, except among the Hurons and Iroquois, and their life was one of ceaseless wandering. Their religion was always of a peculiarly mixed and doubtful quality. Champlain has left on record the statement that the Mic-macs of Acadie had neither devotional ideas nor superstitious ceremonies. Other tribes

upon the St. Lawrence assured him that each man had his own god, whom he worshiped in secret silence. They seem, however, to have usually worshiped something, whether the spirit of good, the spirit of evil, the spirit of storm, the god of war, the spirit of the mountains, or a spirit of the waters.

They peopled all the surrounding air with friendly or hostile spirits, and created among themselves those powerful manipulators of superstition—the medicine men—to control the demons of storm and famine and disease and death, which a vivid imagination had called into existence. To these priests of a peculiar and varied faith they also confined the care of the sick, and there is little doubt that experience and necessity had evolved many a simple yet effective remedy by the time the white man appeared on the scene. Great faith was placed in dreams, and oratory was almost as important a factor in success as bravery. The orations that have come down to us are in many cases models of conciseness, brevity, and forcefulness, not unmixed at times with a touch of pathos. In morals, the Indian was far superior to most other savage races. He had one wife, and, though she was expected to do most of the work and to bear a full share in hardship and suffering, he did not wantonly ill-treat her, and was usually faithful to her, as she was to him. With the appearance of the white settlers this latter condition unfortunately changed, though, in all the wars which followed, the captured white woman was safe from anything worse than the scalping-knife. Nor in any instances of captivity recorded do women and children appear to have been subject to torture at the hands of their captors.

The customs and character of the American aborigine turned mainly, however, upon war. A struggle between two rival tribes or nations could be brought on by the most trivial cause, or by almost any ambitious or relentless individual. When determined upon, it became the source of almost uncontrollable joy, of wild dances, of eloquent harangues, of multitudinous prayers and sacrifices, of feasts and endless bravado and boasting. Then followed a period of absolute

silence and secret preparation, departure in the night time, and a long, patient waiting by squaws and old braves and young boys for the return. Perhaps the expedition never came back, but if it did so, with scalps and prisoners, the welcoming din of shouts and shrieks and tom-toms presented a perfect pandemonium of sound. Then followed the frightful torture of the captives, controlled somewhat by degree or rank, but always borne with a stoical endurance and pride. Such were the savages whom Champlain encountered and the French fought during over a hundred years of intermittent warfare.

Such, also, were the savages who, in modified or varied characteristics, extended from Lake Superior through the far west and north to the Pacific Ocean, and about whom much less is known. They were great hunters, and in time became most expert horsemen. The Dacotahs, or Sioux, were a nation of allies, not unlike the Iroquois in many respects, and covering the southern region of Manitoba and Assiniboia. With them and around them were the Crees and Assiniboines, while to the north were the Chippewayans, and around Hudson's Bay and the northern lakes were scattered the Chippewas. With the exception of the Sioux these tribes were not apparently as warlike as those in the more central part of the continent, and, when settlement came, they showed a much more docile disposition, mixing in years to come with the hunters and trappers to an extent which is fully illustrated by the Half-breed population of 1870 and 1900. In British Columbia and the far north the Indians were a decidedly inferior race to those of other parts of the continent—a condition probably due to the milder climate and to the lack of necessity for severe exertion in order to obtain food. Under white pioneer auspices they became greatly degraded, though subject, in later days, to Christianizing influences. The Flatheads, the Haidas, the Mitkas, and the now almost extinct Chinooks, comprised the chief divisions, and the most of these were akin to the Chippewayans of the plains of the east.

THE IROQUOIS AND THE FRENCH

Meanwhile, the French settlers scattered along the banks of the St. Lawrence, in the seventeenth century, knew nothing of these far-away tribes who hunted the buffalo on the boundless prairies, or erected their *tepees* upon the banks of some great salmon stream on the Pacific Slope of the unknown Rockies. The Frenchmen had quite enough to face in the savages more immediately surrounding them, and the deeds of heroism, on both sides of the desultory warfare which followed the death of Champlain, constitute a most impressive picture. Montreal was founded in 1642 by Le Royer de la Dauversière and Jean Jacques Olier, and was governed in its earlier days by the iron hand and courage of De Maisonneuve. It formed one more object of attack to the Iroquois, who had, of late, been gaining strength and confidence, and were now supplied with firearms by grace of the Dutch traders at Fort Orange. The annals of the twenty years which followed make an epic poem in the endurance, the courage, the constancy of the little white population of Ville Marie—as Montreal was called—and of the other fortified settlements of New France.

Up and down the rivers floated the crowded canoes of a merciless enemy, every path through the forest seemed to be a ready road to Iroquois capture and torture, every tree in the wilderness to be an Indian warrior. The savages lurked in the most unexpected places; hung silently upon the outskirts of Ville Marie or Quebec; waited with sleepless patience for the appearance of some straggling white man or solitary woman from the convent walls. Only the strongest of armed parties could pass east or west, only the firmest of fortified walls were safe when the haunting war-whoop of the enemy was heard. The fur trade was dead, and, in 1649, came the death of the Huron nation, the destruction of the Jesuit missions, and the greatest day of Iroquois power. Their war parties swept over the Huron villages like a Dakotan tornado, and only a scattered remnant of the race lived

to reach the walls of Quebec, or Ville Marie, and to tell the tale of slaughtered converts and martyred missionaries.

These years of agony came to a climax during the decade following 1650. The stone walls of the convents were no longer a sufficient protection and the nuns fled to the cities for protection. Around Quebec and Montreal the Indians scalped and slaughtered with apparent immunity. Little or no help came from France, and then a malignant fever suddenly broke out among the people. Not all the light-heartedness of the French race could bear up against this combination of disasters, this cloud of destruction, which hung low over the land. Those who could fled away to France, those who could not seemed to lose their hold upon hope. Strange portents were seen in the skies. D'Argenson, the Governor, shrinking from misery around him which he was unable to remedy, demanded his recall, and at last, in 1660, came the news that the Iroquois had determined upon one general and concentrated attack which should crush the white man and make the power of the great Iroquois nation finally supreme. Hundreds gathered below Montreal, hundreds more gathered upon the Ottawa, and news came that the greatest war party in savage history was about to sweep down upon devoted Ville Marie.

At this crisis a deed was performed which has justly been called the Thermopylæ of Canada, and which merits a place among the finest records of sacrificial courage. Daulac des Ormeoux, a young French nobleman, who had sought the new world for adventure and reputation and was now in command of the little garrison at Ville Marie, volunteered to lead a small party of young men down the Ottawa and to break the force of the Iroquois wave before it reached the terrified and disheartened defenders of the town. Calling for volunteers, he obtained the aid of sixteen youthful heroes, and afterward of some friendly Hurons—who, however, deserted him when the critical time came.

HEROISM OF DAULAC

Making their wills, receiving the sacrament of their

Church, and the mournful farewells which can be better imagined than described, the gallant little band passed up the St. Lawrence, crossed the Lake of the Two Mountains, and took up their station in an abandoned inclosure formed of tree trunks by some Algonquin war party of a preceding year. Here they made their stand—seventeen white men, one Algonquin chief, and five gallant Hurons—and here, for days, they defended themselves against hundreds of picked Iroquois warriors who stormed around their feeble shelter without intermission and with every device of experienced forest warfare. Exhausted with fatigue, famished for food and sleep, wounded and gasping and dying, the little band fought on. Slowly their numbers diminished, but steadily also the dead bodies of the enemy piled up outside the palisades, until the walls of wooden stakes had almost ceased to be a shelter. Then, at last, when all the defenders were dead but five, and they helpless from innumerable wounds, the greatly reinforced army of the enemy won admission to the inclosure. Four of the surviving heroes died at once; only one was found sufficiently alive to make torture worth the while.

The lesson was enough. To the bravery of the Iroquois nothing appealed so greatly as courage, and such courage as this revived all their old-time respect for the white man —a feeling which had diminished in proportion as the rule of religious orders had prevented the expression of French warlike spirit and the absence of French soldiers had prevented aggressive action. If seventeen Frenchmen, they argued, could keep 700 picked warriors at bay for days and kill many of their best men, what would the population of Ville Marie not be able to do? The great expedition withdrew to its lodges and for a time there was rest in the worn and wearied settlements. Six years later, in the winter of 1666, De Courcelles, the bold but rash nobleman who now governed the Colony, undertook to lead an expedition to the banks of the distant Hudson for the purpose of chastising the Mohawks—perhaps the bravest of all the Five Nations. He

started out with 300 men and 200 Indian allies. He returned without finding the enemy, after a journey of severe privation and labor, and with the loss of sixty men from Indians who had hung upon his rear. In the autumn a second expedition was more successful, the villages of the Mohawks were destroyed and their stores of food carried away or burned. These retaliatory expeditions were not only creditable to French bravery and endurance, but, owing to the immense regions traversed, made the Iroquois feel an increasing respect for the long arm of his now traditionary enemy.

During the next eighty years the history of the Indians, so far as New France is concerned, was one of attack and counter-attack, of plot and counter-plot. Always and everywhere the Iroquois had been the deadly enemies of the Frenchmen, and now, with savage though very natural sense, they became also the more and more frequent allies of the English. To hold the balance of power between the two great rivals, to enable the one to kill off the other, and to contribute in the promotion of the latter process, was to the savage statesmen a most congenial task. The French had their allies, also, in various Algonquin tribes and in a scattered remnant of the Hurons.

And so the struggle went on. Governor Denonville, in 1687, with two or three thousand troops invaded the country of the Senecas and committed whatever ravages were possible. His expedition was rendered memorable by an act of treachery which was not only bad in principle and character but disastrous in policy. A number of chiefs were invited to a conference and to smoke the pipe of peace at Fort Frontenac—an advance port on the St. Lawrence. They came, were surprised, captured, and sent to France to meet a fate which must have been one of slow and sustained agony as slaves in the king's galleys. The villages of the tribes were burned, their cattle and swine and stores of corn destroyed, and the people mercilessly harried until scattered far and wide and their strength shattered in a way from which they never recovered.

It was a military triumph, but the result was an instant combination of all the Iroquois nations in a swift and savage onslaught upon New France. In small detachments they glided like shadows of revenge upon the settlers, and settlements and smoking ruins, or the remains of tortured victims, stamped keen memories of pain over a wide area of the Colony. So swift and sure was the vengeance of the Indians, so unable was he to adequately meet it, that Denonville felt impelled to sue for peace. Negotiations were commenced, but the peace was killed by one of the most clever and unscrupulous incidents in the annals of this savage warfare. Kondiaronk, or "The Rat," was a chief of the small tribe of Hurons at distant Michilimackinac which had helped Denonville in his Seneca raid. He knew that no peace was possible unless his tribal remnant were given up to Iroquois vengeance through the removal of French protection, and he determined to act promptly in order to avert such a possibility. Lying in wait for the Iroquois envoy, as they were on the way to Montreal to conclude the treaty, Kondiaronk fell upon them, killed one and captured the rest—in the name of Denonville. Then, when told that they were envoys on a peace mission, he pretended intense disgust at the treachery of Denonville and sent them away loaded with gifts and filled with wrath at this second evidence of what they believed to be French duplicity. In the words of the astute Huron "the Peace was killed" indeed, and, indirectly, Denonville's original treachery had met a just and fitting reward.

THE LACHINE MASSACRE

Vengeance to the Iroquois mind was now imperative, and the chiefs of the Five Nations resolved it should be a memorable one. Months of French suspense and Indian silence followed and then the blow fell. On the night of August 4, 1689, fifteen hundred savages swept into and around the village of Lachine, at the upper end of Montreal Island, and the wild storm which nature sent at the same time failed to silence the screeches of the Indians and the screams of

their victims. The writer of to-day has to draw a veil over the horrors, the tortures, the slaughter of that night. Suffice it to say that the hearts of the French soldiers in Montreal were turned to water in their breasts, and that New France seemed stricken with a helpless horror. Then, just in time for the revival of French prestige and the safety of French settlers everywhere, there came back the greatest of early French governors, the wise and gallant, though merciless, De Frontenac.

He decided to strike at the Iroquois through the English. Three expeditions were secretly arranged from Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, and, as secretly, they marched upon Schenectady in New York, Salmon Falls in Maine, and another point. Friendly Indians were largely employed in these successful expeditions and Indian methods of slaughter were followed. For a time afterward the Iroquois were held in order by these successes against their English allies and by the evidences of courage and statecraft in Frontenac which they had been quick to discover and appreciate during his preceding government. In 1692 occurred one of those incidents which shed a ray of light athwart a gloomy record of bloodshed and barbarism. It was a bright summer day at the little Fort of Verchères, and its only occupants were Madeleine, the Seigneur's daughter (a girl of fourteen years), two soldiers, two boys, and some women. The time was supposed to be one of peace and the men were away at work in the fields. Suddenly a large party of Indians appeared on the scene. The gates were shut and the terrified inmates calmed by the little maiden. She at once took command, cannon were shotted and fired by her orders, and the tiny garrison placed so as to continue their use to best advantage. For a week the heroine of Verchères—as history justly terms her—held the place with increasing vigilance against repeated Iroquois attacks, and until the inmates were at last saved by the appearance of French soldiers.

The year after this, Frontenac led a not very successful expedition against the Mohawks, and, in 1696, though now

old and somewhat feeble, he was carried in an armchair through the vast wilderness of water and forest at the head of twenty-two hundred men to another attack on this redoubtable tribe. The Iroquois burned their towns and some were burned for them, while much food was destroyed and famine in the future made inevitable. But little else was done except the capture of some chiefs who were taken back as hostages. The Iroquois had now for nearly twenty years been in formal alliance with the English at New York, and under the protection of the English Government. Year by year the naturally warlike spirit of all the tribes had been fanned by the European rivals until their merciless disposition and indifference to death had flamed up in the massacre of Lachine, on the one side, and that of Schenectady on the other. Yet they were cunning enough not to permit the absolute destruction of the French. They were shrewd enough to know that if the English were entirely triumphant with, or without, their aid, the result would be equally dangerous to their own power. In 1685, during La Barre's incapable rule, and as a result of his foolish strategy, they at one time had the French colonies at the mercy of a united attack. Yet they seem to have deliberately refrained. Again, during the European War of the Spanish Succession the English and Indian allies appeared once more to have the game in their hands when the Iroquois held back at a vital moment, and failure followed.

THE ENGLISH COLONISTS AND THE INDIAN

Thus the struggle went on and spread its complex course over the greater part of the continent. In the history of Canada the Indians continued to take an important but very varied part up to the War of 1812. From the days of Frontenac they fought on one side or the other, on behalf of the English or the French. Broadly speaking the Iroquois stood by the former through thick and thin, while the bulk of the other tribes supported the authorities at Quebec. In Washington's expedition against Fort Duquesne, in Brad-

dock's defeat and in Johnson's attack upon Crown Point, in the campaign of Montcalm against Fort William Henry, they took an important and characteristic part. In Acadie, during the mutations of French and English struggle, they were never numerous enough to hold any considerable place as combatants, but in cutting off isolated settlers from time to time were quite sufficiently successful. During the middle of the eighteenth century, when Halifax had just been founded and the English were trying to conciliate the French inhabitants, the Mic-macs of Nova Scotia—as Acadie was now called—fell largely under the malignant influence of a priest named Le Loutre. He was a merciless and tireless supporter of the French régime at Quebec, honest with the flame of a fierce and cruel patriotism, but devoid of any real spirit of Christianity and honor. Under his control the Mic-macs became a veritable thorn in the side of the English, a source of constant outrage and murder. Some others tribes stood by the latter, reprisals naturally followed, and, for years before the final fall of Quebec, the shameful spectacle was seen of Indians struggling for scalps in order to obtain a French or English bounty.

With the victory of Wolfe came cessation in the strife of centuries between the European rivals, but with it also came a last despairing Indian effort to hold their own against the onward sweep of English population and power. Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas, had for some years before the signing of the Treaty of Paris been consolidating and increasing his strength. He had steadily stretched his influence over the Ottigamies, the Huron remnant which had for half a century been slowly growing in numbers, the Sacs, Pottawattamies, Ojibbiways, Wyandottes and other tribal divisions of the Canadian region. He had spread the spell of his personality down the centre of the continent to the far frontiers of Virginia and over the fiery Delawares and Shawanees. He had even detached the Senecas from their traditional and close alliance with the Five Nations, or Iroquois. His subtlety of insight enabled him to see clearly that, with the

final success of the English, the power of the Indian had practically passed. His eloquence and force of character enabled him to bind the tribes together in a proposed onslaught upon the advancing white man.

Circumstances played into his hands and he was able to point out that no more appeals were made to Indian assistance and Indian pride; that no more gifts were bestowed upon their people or courtesies showered upon their envoys. Policy no longer made their alliance necessary, while recollections of half a century of barbarous warfare made the Colonial attitude one of contempt and natural aversion. Hence his scheme to scourge the English palefaces into the sea before his own people should be swept away into the unknown west by the increasing numbers of their enemy. Encouraged secretly by French fur-traders, who told him that help was coming from France, and by New Orleans merchants who felt the competition of the English, he laid his plans, and in May, 1763, the whole western frontier was a blaze of savage warfare. Detroit was closely besieged, after the failure of an attempt to surprise it, a detachment of troops from Niagara was cut to pieces, Sandusky, Michilimackinac, and other places were taken and destroyed, while the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia flamed with the light of burning villages and echoed to the cries of slaughtered settlers. Campaigns against the Indians followed under Colonels Bouquet and Bradstreet with varying success, and the war dragged on until 1766, when Sir William Johnson finally forced the submission of Pontiac. This ended the struggle, and a year later the really great leader of his people was killed in some private broil.

THEYENDANECEA AND TECUMSEH

In the years which followed, Sir William Johnson, as English Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Colonies, obtained a vast influence over the savages and especially over the Iroquois of New York. When the Revolution broke out he espoused the Royal cause and faithfully did

the Indians join in fighting for it under the leadership of Theyendanegea—Captain Joseph Brant. This chieftain was another leader of the type of Pontiac, but without his savagery of temperament, and with some of the trained qualities of civilization. Able, honorable, and courageous, he rendered great service against the Continental forces. When the end came he led the bulk of the Iroquois Loyalists from their historic homes and comfortable farms to the banks of the Thames in Upper Canada, and there they were supplied with land grants by the King, and settled down to a life which was unbroken by war or strife until the days of 1812. Then, once more, they took up arms under Tecumseh, and revived the old glories of their race without the cruelties and savageries which had cast so black a shadow over its sombre history.

Both in the years of the Revolution and in the War of 1812 a few Indians fought with the Americans;* but they were never numerous despite the bounties offered by Congress. Their aid was publicly sought by Montgomery during his invasion of Canada, and Congress passed a Resolution approving the project to raise 2,000 Indians for this particular service. They do not seem, however, to have worked well with the Americans at any time, and to have, indeed, retained their rancor against this branch of the palefaces long after the Iroquois had buried the hatchet and discarded their hatred against the French.

The Indian was a natural monarchist, a born believer in aristocracy, and it is probable that the English system, as it evolved to the north of the Great Lakes, was far more suited to his tastes and inclinations than the democracy of the new Republic. He saw and felt the forms of British institutions, liked the principle of loyalty to a great king or chief, and also admired, as time went on, the strength of British love for law and order and for justice between different races. His day of power had gone, it is true, but

* See Washington's Address to Congress on April 19, 1776.

he all the more appreciated kindness and just treatment, and, during the century which followed, Canada has no prouder or more satisfactory page in her history than the treatment of her Indian wards and their immunity from strife and bloodshed and corrupt government.

CHAPTER III

THE JESUIT MISSIONS AND PIONEER CHRISTIANITY

THE extraordinary army of men who belong in successive centuries to the Society of Jesus possess in their annals of mingled power and privation, of greatness and meanness, of fanaticism and finesse, no more interesting record than that embodied in those "Jesuit Relations" which are so eloquently descriptive of their prolonged effort to evangelize the savages of the one-time Canadian wilderness.

PIONEERS OF EMPIRE IN NEW FRANCE

Whatever story may yet leap to light for good or ill in the past pages of this great Order, nothing but honor surrounds the work of the Jesuit pioneers in British America. Armed with nothing but the crucifix and wrapped in a mantle of faith and Christian enthusiasm which made them dare everything and fear neither torture, nor privation, nor death, they tramped through the lonely aisles of the forest, wandered amid swamps and the haunts of wild beasts, lived in the smoke-blackened atmosphere of dirty huts, nursed and prayed with the ignorant and helpless victims of contagious disease, and preached to threatening tribes controlled by the ignorant "Medicine men," who saw their supremacy menaced by these new doctrines of peace and charity and goodwill.

During the seventeenth century, while their fellow priests, with varying degrees of success and failure, of Christian

work and secular negotiation, were extending the power of the Church of Rome in India and the Moluccas, in China and Japan, in Brazil and Paraguay, devoted missionaries of that remarkable organization were winning over to Christianity the Huron Indians in what is now the Province of Ontario. In 1626, Jean de Brébeuf founded a mission on the forest-clad shores of the Georgian Bay. In 1641, Fathers Jogues and Raymbault preached to great Indian audiences beside the rapids of the Sault Ste. Marie as that little river rushes to connect the great waters of Superior and Huron. Everywhere throughout a still wider region of forest and wilderness these and other pioneers of religion preached and suffered and struggled with the forces of nature, and of native barbarism, or died for the faith that was in them.

WONDERFUL COURAGE AND FAITH

With breviary and crucifix they wandered afar from even the ultimately converted Hurons and the implacable Iroquois. From the wave-beaten shores of Nova Scotia to the prairies of the unknown west, from the region of Hudson's Bay to the mouth of the Mississippi, they passed in a succession of black-robed figures. Paddling in bark-canoes upon rivers and lakes of unexplored size and character; toiling over rugged portages or through forests without seeming end or limit; sleeping on rocks and moss, or taking refuge from the bitter cold of winter in the still more unpleasant smoke and dirt of an Indian wigwam; dependent for subsistence upon the scarce quality of savage charity or the acorns and nuts and wild growth of the forest, they persevered in their mission "for the glory of God," for the advancement of their Order and of New France, until, as Bancroft, the American historian, puts it, "not a cape was turned, not a river was entered but a Jesuit led the way."

Meanwhile, in the more limited sphere within which rested the wigwams of the Hurons and around which beat the ever-present rage of their inexorable enemies, the Iroquois, success came to the missionaries in the way which they loved best.

What mattered it to them in the preliminary effort to tame the Huron nature, or in the later conflicts with the hereditary foes of the tribe, if priest after priest dropped from the ranks into the arms of a martyred death? Daniel Brébeuf, Lallemant, Garnier, Garreau, Buteux, Jogues, and Chabanet, laid down their lives after suffering tortures beside the reality of which the most vivid imagination would pale. Goupil, Brulé, and Lalande were some of the lay laborers who also earned the crown of a violent death; while the sufferings of Chatelaine, Chaumont, Couture, and many others would make a record too painful for summarized treatment. The "Jesuit Relations," written by many of these Jesuit Fathers, in different languages and under varied conditions of suffering to the authorities in Quebec, or at Rome, present a picture rarely if ever equaled in the annals of privation and perseverance.

The tragic story of Father Jogues is one of intense interest. Coming from Quebec in 1642 with supplies for the mission, he and his companions were captured by the Iroquois on Lake St. Peter. The gentle, refined, and cultured priest was submitted to every indignity and torture that his captors could think of while they dragged him in triumph from town to town. His companions did not survive the ordeal of suffering or the fiery stake, but eventually the most delicate of them all, with mangled and bleeding body, was allowed to escape into what seemed the certain death of the wintry woods. By some miracle of fortune or of Providence he escaped to the Dutch at far-away Fort Orange and was thence sent home to France. But, despite the hero worship of a Court and memories of untold suffering, he took the first vessel in the spring for New France and this time actually endeavored to establish a mission among his Iroquois torturers. The martyr's death came to him in 1644. Almost exactly similar was the devotion and self-sacrifice of Father Bressani, an Italian Jesuit. Captured as was Jogues, scarred, scourged, mangled, burned and otherwise tortured, he lived to see hungry dogs feeding off his naked body, and to write

the words, "I could not have believed that a man was so hard to kill."* To the General of the Order in Rome to whom this was addressed he added the statement that it was written in ink made of gunpowder and water, and was soiled because he had only one finger of his right hand left entire and could not prevent the blood from his still open wounds staining the paper. Yet he lived to be rescued, to be carried home to France, and to again return to the scene of his suffering and sorrow.

SUCCESS WITH THE HURONS

Such a spirit compelled success. In 1634, Fathers Brébeuf and Davoust, after a weary and painful journey of nine hundred miles, with limbs scarred by rocks, and bodies bitten and bruised and torn and worn, reached the Huron settlements, not far from the Lake Simcoe of to-day and established the mission for which they had willingly endured so much. "Amid it all," wrote Brébeuf, "my soul enjoyed a sublime contentment, knowing that all I suffered was for God." And it really seemed as if the blood of the martyrs was to be the seed of the Church. Gradually the Huron tribes became converted, and the altar which was at first, and for long, raised in the aisles of the forest began to find a place within the palisades of the native villages.

The story of this success is one full of tragic incidents crowned with the most tragic of all ends. For fifteen years Brébeuf and Lallemant, Daniel and other devoted priests, labored without ceasing to convert the savages among villages which dotted the fertile region between Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe wherever an opening in the dense forest growth allowed a settlement, with its huts and protective palisades, to be placed. The priests shared every hardship of a life to which custom and tradition had inured the Indian, without complaint and with apparent pleasure. Despite dislike

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* The Rev. Dr. W. H. Withrow in "Canada: An Encyclopædia of the Country," Volume II., page 444.

and threats and insult they would enter the dwellings of the Huron braves and administer the rite of baptism to infants whom they thus believed to be changed "from little savages to little angels." Of a thousand such ceremonies, performed in 1639, it is stated that all but twenty were done in immediate danger of death. Such courage, coupled with sympathy in sickness, tenderness to the dying, evident love for the children, care for the wounded, inevitably had its effect in time. Slowly converts came in, gradually superstitious rites were discontinued, steadily the worn cassock and wasted form of the missionary came to be an endurable, and then a welcome, guest.

The influence of these men grew so great as the years passed slowly on as to seem a marvel in the eyes of the modern observer. Savage natures were actually changed so as to be unrecognizable. Human tenderness was revived and lawless passions restrained; Christian decorations and devotions took the place of wild Pagan mummeries; most wonderful of all, the Huron learned to pray for his bitter and hereditary enemy, the Iroquois. A transformation such as this seems little short of miraculous, and it was natural that an already boundless missionary zeal should be strengthened by it—if that were possible. Recruits came from France and converted Indians swelled the ranks of Christian labor. In almost every Huron village a mission was established, and, in place of a few fearful, doubtful converts meeting and worshiping in the shadow of the forest, there were organized services held, and even religious structures erected, at St. Michael, St. Joseph, St. Jean, St. Louis, St. Denys, St. Antoine, St. Charles, St. Ignace, Ste. Thérèse, Ste. Marie, and many another place called after some Saint or old-world shrine of the faith.

The last-named was perhaps the most important, and was established, in 1640, on the banks of a small stream not far from the present town of Penetanguishone. It was a fort as well as a mission, and the outline of the masonry and palisaded walls may still be seen, after the lapse of two centuries

and a half. Within these defences were a church, a mission residence, a kitchen, and a refectory. Immediately outside of them were a large building for Indian guests, a hospital for the sick, and a cemetery for the dead. Agriculture was carefully taught and earnestly encouraged, while the Fathers not only themselves used spade and mattock, but raised fowls, swine, and cattle. Prosperity came to the villages; comfort and plentiful supplies of food, in winter as well as in summer, resulted from the foresight of the missionaries; the elements of a very real and kindly civilization became visible.

Unfortunately, however, though it must be said naturally, the military spirit of the Hurons was undermined in this process. The need of food no longer spurred them to the distant hunt and possible conflict; the lust for vengeance no longer moved them to practice cruelties and physical austerities which developed activity and determination and strength. They grew averse to war, afraid of the Iroquois, anxious for peace, and, therefore, natural and easy victims to the implacable hate of an enemy who knew no mercy and despised the qualities which Christianity aimed to cultivate. They were still subject to desultory raids from wandering bands of the enemy, and many were the scalps taken from unwary Hurons during this decade of development. But there had been no combined onslaught, and, up to 1648, hope without any real confidence was the prevailing feeling among the villages. In that year, while the Iroquois were haunting the shadow of every tree and the fortifications of every white settlement along the St. Lawrence in search of victims, a party of Huron braves from St. Joseph descended the Ottawa and the greater river with a large stock of furs for sale to the French. At Three Rivers they were attacked, but beat their assailants back.

It was, however, the beginning of the end. An Iroquois band had meanwhile swept up the country to St. Joseph, broken down the palisades, killed Father Daniel at the altar of his church, taken 700 prisoners, and left the little town a smoking ruin. In the following year the mandate went

forth that the Huron nation was to be destroyed. Twelve hundred warriors entered the rich and populated country and left it a desert. The villages were burned, or taken by storm and then destroyed. Priests and people, alike, were slaughtered or taken prisoners and preserved for a worse fate. The "Jesuit Relations" record a measure of suffering wreaked upon some of the Jesuit Fathers which it seems impossible for men to have endured. At St. Louis, Brébeuf and Lallemant, disdaining to fly, stood by the warriors of the settlement and were eventually captured. Enraged, and yet admiring their courage, the savages exhausted every resource of experienced ingenuity to procure from them some sign of suffering. Scalping, pouring boiling oil upon their heads, tearing off the nails from their hands, lacerating their flesh, cutting the living bodies almost to pieces, burning them with red-hot irons—all were useless in face of a firmness and faith which impelled them to die as became the creed they loved when in presence of enemies who, above all things, admired the stoical endurance of pain. "We can not hope," wrote Ragueneau in the "Relations," of Pére Daniel, his brother in toil and tribulation, "but to follow him in the burning path which he had trod, but we will gladly suffer for the glory of the Master whom we serve."

The mission at Ste. Marie was strong enough to resist the onslaught of the foe, and it survived. But, alone in a land which had become a desert, with the scattered remnant of its flock fleeing in isolated groups over the country from Lake Huron to the St. Lawrence and Quebec, it was of little service, and, finally, after moving to an island in Georgian Bay, where the Iroquois followed and famine faced the mission, the last centre of Christianity in this part of the wilderness was compelled to also seek refuge in the direction of Quebec. Thus closed one splendid page in the history of the Society of Jesus. Another, though less conspicuous one, was immediately turned over. The Jesuits had long been anxious to found a mission among the Iroquois themselves. They believed that doing so would be a service to the State as well

as to the Church, and that they might be able in time to ameliorate and soften the fierceness of the savage character.

A few years after the extirpation of the Hurons permission was given, during a brief period of peace, and Fathers Le Moyne, Chaumont, and Dablon established a mission in the country of the Onondagas, and went to work with a thousand knives itching for their scalps and the knowledge that every moment might be their last. Finally, they discovered the threads of a plot for their destruction, the simultaneous rising of the Five Nations, and the sweeping of the French into the St. Lawrence. The little band of white men escaped by a clever *ruse,* which looked to the Indians like a miracle; and the most courageous attempt of the devoted priests had failed. But, within ten years, they had obtained a footing, and the black-robed figures passed to and fro with an immunity born of growing respect and of increasing attention to their lessons. In various other and distant directions, Jesuits, Recollets, and priests from the Seminary of Quebec penetrated—often where the most daring fur-trader feared to go. North of Lake Superior, and from the Illinois to Lake Winnipeg, Jesuit priests carved a pathway for French influence and Christian instruction. At Sault Ste. Marie and at the far-away Michilimackinac they established missions, and everywhere they carved for their Order a signal name and fame. Such was the foundation of Roman Catholicism in Canada.

Curiously different, however, was its effect upon the Indian savages and upon the French settlers. Diverse indeed were the results of heroism in the wilderness and attempted government in the Province. One influence made for peace, the other too often led to discord. Both, however, had a great molding power in the making of the country among either its savage or its civilized peoples. Up to 1658 the Jesuits practically controlled the spiritual affairs of the Colony, and their labors had, of course, been largely of a missionary nature. There was little ecclesiastical organization and no hierarchy. But, in the year named, François de Laval

de Montmorency, Abbé de Montigny, in France, was consecrated Bishop of Petrea and Vicar-Apostolic of New France.

THREE GREAT ECCLESIASTICS

From the following year until 1688, and from 1692 until his death in 1708, this militant, laborious, and devoted Prelate gave his whole energies, his entire wealth and life to the establishment of his Church and the extension of her influence. His high birth and considerable means were sources of great strength in those days, when added to the prestige of ecclesiastical position, and these elements of power Mgr. de Laval used, with all the force of a somewhat overbearing spirit and a tremendous religious zeal, to rule the Colony for the good of itself and the Church.

To him the welfare of the State was bound up in the progress of the Church, and it was, therefore, natural that a man of imperious character, in the position of the Bishop of Quebec—a See to which he was formally appointed in 1674, and which covered nearly the whole of North America —should enter into conflict at times with the civil power. With De Frontenac, who was a singularly strong character in his own sphere, one of these contests occurred, and resulted in the aged Bishop going to France in person and winning the King's favor for his unceasing effort to suppress the liquor traffic with the Indians. Similar differences arose in connection with his policy of making the Sovereign Council subservient to him rather than to the Governor. With some of the more powerful of his clergy disputes also came as the inevitable result of his dominant and dominating will. Like his humbler predecessors in the Society of Jesus, neither distance, danger, nor privation had any terrors for him. From the missions of Acadie to the far valley of Lake Champlain, and the wild regions of the Upper Lakes, he traveled and organized and inspired his priests and adherents with new energy and enthusiasm. At Quebec he founded the Grand Seminary in 1663 and the Minor Seminary five years later, and from those institutions there soon flowed a fresh stream

of devoted priests. By this time a number of strong and growing religious institutions were strengthening the cords of the Church in Montreal and Quebec. They included the Sulpicians at the former place, the Jesuits and Recollets at the latter; the Ursuline Convent in Quebec, which had braved so many pioneer perils under charge of the venerated Mlle. de la Peltrie and Marie de l'Incarnation; the Congregation of the Ladies of Notre Dame, at Montreal, under the control of Marguerite Bourgeois; the Hôtel Dieu, built at Quebec, as a gift from the Duchess d'Aguillon, and the similar institution in Montreal created by Mlle. de la Mance and Madame de Bouillon. These institutions, under the Bishop's fostering care, or through the intense militant spirit of the heroic women in charge, had prospered greatly, and been of untold service to the ofttimes weary, sick, and despairing colonists.

Such in brief was the work and character of the Father of his Church in New France. A long line of more or less able and earnest men succeeded him. Mgr. Jean Baptiste de St. Vallier, who spent immense sums founding and helping religious institutions; Mgr. de Pontbriand, who established the Hospital of the Grey Nuns in Montreal, with the assistance of Mme. d'Youville, and died just after seeing the smoking ruins of his Cathedral in Quebec as a result of the siege of 1759; Mgr. Jean Oliver Briand, who had to face the new conditions following the English conquest and to make his office one of diplomacy and racial conciliation, as well as of religious oversight; Mgr. Joseph Octave Plessis, the greatest of French Catholic ecclesiastics after the founder of the Church in Canada, and the most loyal and successful of administrators.

He understood and studied, as no man had previously done, the causes of the French overthrow in Canada, and he was clear-headed enough to appreciate the freedom of development accorded under the new *régime*. He founded colleges and schools, and took a place in the Legislative Council and an active part in its work, visited England and Rome in 1819,

and finally succeeded in establishing Quebec as a sort of a central See, with Suffragans or Vicars-Apostolic at Kingston in Upper Canada, on the Red River in the Far North, at Montreal, and in Nova Scotia. He died in 1825, after nineteen years of an administration which had revived the fruits of Mgr. de Laval's labors, and had extended his Church in an organized sense over much of the vast region originally covered by the Jesuit Fathers.

The Church, meanwhile, did not prove ungrateful to England for the favors of toleration and freedom which had been conferred at the Conquest. In 1775, Bishop Briand issued a *Mandement* denouncing the "pernicious design" of the invaders under Montgomery and Arnold, praising the magnanimity and kindness of the King toward his French subjects, and urging the defence of homes and frontiers and religious interests against the Continental troops. During the troubles preceding the War of 1812, Mgr. Plessis took still stronger ground, and, in a long and eloquent *Mandement*, issued on September 16, 1807, and based on the principle of "Fear God and honor the King," he urged loyalty to Great Britain, and denounced as unworthy the name of Catholic or Canadian any individual who was not ready to take up arms in opposing a possible American invasion. A little later, when American missionaries began to stir up the people with promises of what republican liberty would do for them, he issued a letter of concise and stringent instructions to all the Curés of his Diocese, regarding the necessity of inculcating loyalty. And, in the result, the influence and power of the Church was very plainly shown in 1775 and 1812.

POWER AND PROGRESS

Meantime, in the part of Canada now called Ontario, and which had been watered by the blood of the Jesuits in the Huron Missions, French settlements had gradually appeared, and, toward the end of the eighteenth century, a number of Scotch and Loyalist colonists. At Sandwich, not far from

the future city of Detroit, a number of the French had settled at the time of the Conquest, and to the banks of the St. Lawrence, in the County of Glengarry, there came, forty years later, a number of Catholic Highlanders. In 1803, they were joined by Alexander Macdonell, the Father of the Church in Upper Canada. Like his prototype, Mgr. de Laval, and his colleague, Mgr. Edmund Burke, who went to Nova Scotia after a brief stay at Sandwich, Father Macdonell feared neither pain nor privation nor labor in the missionary work of the Church. Consecrated Bishop of Upper Canada in 1820, he lived for nineteen years to preside over the progress of the Church in that Province as he had already done in strenuous and unselfish fashion over its birth and early years. Writing in 1836 to Sir Francis Bond Head, Governor of the Colony, he pointed with pride to the erection during his pioneer episcopate of thirty-three churches and chapels, to the education and training—largely at his own expense—of twenty-two clergymen, and to the expenditure of £13,000 of his own private means, as well as the collection of much more from friends abroad. The following extract is illustrative of these early conditions, and was written in reply to attacks made upon him in the Assembly:

"Upon entering my pastoral duties I had the whole Province in charge, and was without any assistance for ten years. During that period I had to travel over the country from Lake Superior to the Province line of Lower Canada, carrying the sacred vestments sometimes on my back and sometimes in Indian birch canoes; living with savages, without any other shelter or comfort but their fires and their furs and the branches of the trees afforded; crossing the great lakes and rivers, and even descending the rapids of the St. Lawrence, in their dangerous and wretched craft. Nor were the hardships which I endured among the settlers and immigrants less than those I had to encounter among the savages themselves, in their miserable shanties, exposed on all sides to the weather, and destitute of every comfort."

During the 160 years covered by the arrival of Mgr. de Laval and the death of Bishop Macdonell in 1839, much progress had been made by the Church of Rome elsewhere in the country. Far away in the Northwest, wandering priests had ministered from time to time to the Indians, but

it was not until the consecration of Father N. B. Provencher, in 1818, as a Bishop and his appearance on the banks of the Red River, that organized work commenced there. From that time on steady and successful missionary labors were maintained, amid the most severe hardships, intense cold, and every form of privation. In the Maritime Provinces, or "Acadie the Fair," the Jesuits early appeared on the scene—the first to arrive being the Rev. Nicholas Aubrey, who had landed fifty years before Laval arrived at Quebec. Fathers Quentin and Du Thet, Biard, and Massé were later pioneers. Then came the Recollets and the Franciscan Fathers, and, in 1676, Father Petit became the first Vicar-General of Acadie. Under British rule, Father Edmund Burke, who had been laboring with enthusiasm for a number of years, was, in 1818, made a Bishop and Vicar-Apostolic of Nova Scotia. During the early years of the century, owing to large accessions of Catholic Scotchmen to this population, the Church grew rapidly in numbers and influence. Thus the seed sown by the Jesuits in the soil of North America began to fructify after they had passed away, and produced, in the course of a century and a half, a strong Church, planted in Quebec among a large and growing population, and elsewhere placed in a position suited for great future development.

CHAPTER IV

THE LAND OF EVANGELINE

LONGFELLOW has immortalized an occurrence in Canadian history which was notable in itself and which will always live in public memory. But back of that event were a hundred and fifty years of stirring Acadian annals—years of sorrow and suffering, of struggle and success. Before Champlain had founded Quebec, or Henry Hudson discovered the great northern waters which bear his name, a French Huguenot settlement was established

on an island in the mouth of the St. Croix River, as it rolls down from between the present boundary lines of Canada and the United States. In this pioneer and unsuccessful effort by the Sieur de Monts in 1604, he had the patronage of Henry IV of France; and a beginning was thus made to the prolonged struggle for possession of what came to be called the land of Acadie, which included within its bounds the present Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and that part of the State of Maine east of the Kennebec River.

THE LAND OF ACADIE

It was, upon the whole, a goodly region, watered by beautiful rivers and innumerable brooks, covered by splendid forests and possessed of a soft and pleasant summer climate. But the Canadian winter—that cold, stern period of snow and ice, to which the French always found it so hard to accommodate their memories of the mild weather of southern Europe—was sure to be a source of constant suffering; and not the least so to the pioneer band of settlers at the mouth of the St. Croix. When the earliest buds and birds of spring appeared, De Monts and Champlain abandoned a situation open to all the frozen blasts of the ocean and the river, and established themselves at a place which they termed Port Royal, and which, within more modern days, has become known as Annapolis. At the head of the beautiful Annapolis Basin, sheltered from the sea by guardian sentinels of rock and shielded from the storms of land by wooded hills, the site of the new settlement was, in the summer season, a scene of sunshine and loveliness, in winter a very haven of rest to the half-clothed, inexperienced, but light-hearted Frenchmen.

SUFFERINGS AND HARDSHIPS OF EARLY SETTLERS

The leaders of this colonization effort stand out very clearly upon the pages of Canadian history. Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, was one of those adventurous figures who build much of romance and attractiveness into the mak-

ing of nations. From the French King he had obtained a grant of land which might have been made to cover the whole region from Montreal to the Philadelphia of the distant future, and with his two ships and a crew, which included thieves and gentlemen in about equal proportions, the light-hearted nobleman of a brilliant Court had started upon his task—one in which Cartier and De Roberval and De la Roche had already failed to effect any practical success and had endured much of privation and suffering.

With him were Champlain—already the central figure of St. Lawrence explorations—and Jean de Biencourt, Baron de Poutrincourt. The latter was a wealthy and energetic nobleman of Picardy, whose whole heart came to be wrapped up in the success of the enterprise. After the first troubles at St. Croix and the later settlement at Port Royal, Poutrincourt paid a visit to France, in which he was later on joined by De Monts, and returned during the spring of 1606, with mechanics and laborers for the infant colony. With him was the merry, shrewd, and scholarly L'Escarbot, who has left behind such interesting records of the events connected with these settlements. One other important personage concerned in early Acadian colonization was Pontgravé, a rich Breton merchant of St. Malo, who had already shared in the Champlain expedition up the St. Lawrence.

The years that immediately followed were of stirring and ever-changing interest. Port Royal became the centre of storm-clouds, which reached in shadowy outline from Paris to London and back again to this tiny settlement on the verge of a vast continent. Champlain, meanwhile, explored and surveyed and schemed, while L'Escarbot looked after the planting and sowing and reaping. De Monts continued in Paris to try and counter the plots of enemies and hold the rights he had been granted. The winter of 1606-7 was the famous occasion of Champlain's "Order of a Good Time," when the fifteen leading men of the colony met in Poutrincourt's dining-hall and reveled each day for some hours in good fellowship and good fare, and the good cheer of a wit which was Parisian in its character and cleverness. With

the picturesque group of gentlemen-adventurers sat the Sagamore Memberton, bearing upon his shoulders the burden of a hundred years, the responsibility of tribal leadership, and the reputation of sincere friendship for the whites.

This jolly and prosperous season, however, was the calm before the storm, and in the springtime came a ship from St. Malo bearing not the familiar figure of De Monts with new resources and fresh settlers, but the intelligence that his enemies had triumphed and his charter been revoked. There was nothing for it but to pluck up the deepening roots of settlement and return to the motherland, and this Poutrincourt did with a sore heart and a steadfast determination to return again. He took up the mantle of interest and labor which De Monts now dropped, and, while Champlain proceeded to write his own name large in the history of the New France which he hoped to establish on the banks of the St. Lawrence, Poutrincourt continued faithful to Port Royal, and, in 1610, returned with new settlers and a zealous priest—Father la Flèche—who soon succeeded in converting the friendly Memberton and his entire tribe.

In the following year came another crisis, and the death of Henry IV, by the knife of Ravaillac, brought upon the European scene the towering and merciless figure of Marie de Medicis, and upon the smaller Acadian arena the black-robed and stormy figure of the Jesuit. The Society of Jesus was now predominant at Paris, and it proceeded to take possession, or attempted to take possession, of the souls of the people in Acadie. If its zealous representatives had shown only the religious courage and constancy of their later colleagues in the region of the Great Lakes, much difficulty might have been spared the struggling colonists and much of the strife averted, which is said to have caused Poutrincourt to once cry out to them: "Show me the path to Heaven and I will show you yours on earth." The founder of the new colony was now merely able to hold his little territory around Port Royal, while Madame de Guercheville, a lady of the French Court famed for both virtue and beauty, had

obtained the rights of the Huguenot merchants at St. Malo and transferred them to the Jesuits, and had also received from Louis XIII a grant of the whole of North America from the St. Lawrence to Florida.

RIVAL COLONIES AND RACES

But to have was not to hold, as was soon to be seen at Port Royal, and as might have been gathered from the terms of any French charter which included the English settlements of Virginia and Maine within its scope. The Society of Jesus was now, however, nominally in control of the continent, through its fair devotee and as far as the fiat of a French King could avail. In Acadie, Father la Flèche was soon supported by Fathers Biard and Massé, and their labors carried the banner of their faith far and wide among the Indians. In 1613, Madame de Guercheville sent out a fresh expedition, with men and stores and accompanied by two more Jesuit priests—Quentin and Du Thet—and a settlement on the coast of New England was formed at a place which was named St. Laurent. The action was taken in defiance of, or indifference to, the claims of England, and met a very speedy ending. One day in the later spring, a stoutly armed vessel sailed into the natural harbor, which, as its Captain had just learned from Indians, sheltered from sight of the sea, Frenchmen who had dared to intrude upon soil claimed for the blood-red flag which waved at his masthead. The settlement was promptly uprooted by the commander, who, in the future, was to become wealthy and well known as Sir Samuel Argall, and always and everywhere as a bitter enemy of the French. He followed up this success by a raid upon Port Royal, which he found defenceless, Biencourt—the gallant son of the adventurous Poutrincourt—being away from his command in an expedition against the Indians. The place was pillaged and burned to the ground, and even the crops in the fields were destroyed. Argall returned in triumph to Virginia, and the unhappy French colonists struggled through the ensuing winter by means of wild roots and

the help of half-starved and friendly Indians. Poutrincourt, shortly after this event, died a soldier's death in France, and his son, who had already inherited his ability and energy, obtained the rank of Vice-Admiral, and remained in Acadie to hunt, fish, shoot, trade, and guard the remnants of his cherished settlement. Ultimately, he rebuilt Port Royal, and in this, as well as in his generally adventurous life, was strongly seconded by a young Huguenot nobleman —Charles de la Tour—who was destined to take an important part in the stern game of war and colonization which followed.

Meanwhile, as a result of Argall's raids, Great Britain began to press the claims upon the soil of North America which Cabot's discoveries seemed to give. By right of settlement, the greater part of the Atlantic Coast, from Acadie downward, was already British; by right of discovery, and despite a record of colonization and exploration which now crowns French energy and enterprise with honor, claim was laid to the whole of what has become known as Canada, and was for nearly a century called British America. In times of war between France and England this claim continued to be aggressively presented by British invasion or British expeditions; in times of nominal peace it was too often urged by Colonial invasion and New England raids, followed or preceded by French expeditions of a similarly lawless character.

In 1614, King James I granted to a Plymouth Association all the lands lying between the 45th and 48th parallels, and called the region New England. There was, of course, a New France already in existence, and a New Spain was now taking unto itself much of the southern part of the continent. Sir William Alexander, afterward Earl of Sterling and Viscount Canada, a man of letters, and a patriotic Scotchman, resolved that there should also be a New Scotland. From the King he obtained, in 1621, a grant of the whole of Acadie, under the general name of Nova Scotia, and including the Maritime Provinces of the present day.

He began quietly by making a small settlement, and then sending out ships yearly with trading and exploring parties. The younger Poutrincourt was now Commandant of Acadie in the name of the French King, and, with De la Tour, presented to the thrifty Scotchman a rather difficult nut for breaking by either the weapons of diplomacy or war. But the latter was a man of resource, and had he been backed up by the weight of practical assistance from the Crown, as well as of its nominal patronage, he would have eventually built up a strong Scotch dependency. Charles I renewed his charter in 1625, and also approved an undertaking which has been since criticised, very unfairly and ignorantly, by men who know nothing of the spirit of that age, and judge everything by the somewhat mercenary and largely democratic spirit of the present time.

An Order of Knights-Baronets of Nova Scotia was established by which, in return for certain substantial contributions to the Colonization fund and the pledge of planting actual settlements on the lands granted by the Crown, each member of the Order was to be given an estate of eighteen square miles. Many a title has been accorded for less service to the State, present or prospective, than this, and, given a reasonably fair selection of the gentleman upon whom the honor and the opportunity were conferred, it is difficult to see why abuse and sneers should be leveled at the scheme and its originator. About the same time the crafty Richelieu was inaugurating in New France the Company of the Hundred Associates with similar objects in view, though with natural differences in detail. Something was done in carrying out the plan, and soon a number of estates dotted the English maps of Nova Scotia which would hardly be found in a French map of Acadie. The settlements were not so quick in maturing, but a certain number of immigrants did come out despite the fresh war which soon began between England and France.

When Admiral Kirke arrived on the expedition which so triumphantly terminated in the temporary capture of Quebec,

he bore down upon battle-scarred Port Royal and declared the whole country to be under the rule and government of Sir William Alexander's Company or Order. Poutrincourt, the younger, had died some years before this, but Charles de la Tour still held a strong position at Fort St. Louis, near Cape Sable. Here, in 1629, he shut himself up and defied the English, though his father, Claude de la Tour, was captured on his way with supplies and armament for Port Royal and was carried to an English prison. These survivors of the Huguenot aristocracy of the old world are very picturesque figures in the early history of the new one. The elder was a trader by profession and perhaps at heart. He was certainly far from possessing the many patriotic and gallant qualities of his son. To the English Court and English statecraft he was felt, however, to be a great prize. The power of the family in Acadie was well known, though it was forgotten, or unknown, that the greater influence settled in the person and around the character of its younger member.

Claude de la Tour was made much of in England, fêted everywhere, married to a lady of the Court, made a Knight-Baronet of Nova Scotia, granted forty-five hundred square miles of territory on the Atlantic Coast, and gradually won over to espouse the cause of England and to promise the support of his son—who was included in the titles and grants. But he had undertaken too much, and when, in 1630, he arrived at Port Louis with British ships and colonists and the assurance of support to his plans, he was repulsed in his negotiations and in the assault which followed their failure, and was compelled to withdraw to Port Royal with his settlers and the wife who had been led to expect a triumphant entry into new and vast possessions and an early acquisition of territory for the Crown of England. She remained faithful to her husband, however, through good and evil report, through the sunshine of success and the shadow of sorrow. The latter unfortunately predominated, and when, two years after this time, peace was concluded by the respective Sov-

ereigns and New France and Acadie both handed back to France, the father had the humiliation of having to seek refuge with his son and to find himself stripped of both his reputation and his resources. Thence he fades from the canvas of history. Charles de la Tour had, in the meantime, won high credit for his refusal of English approaches, and, in 1631, became the French King's Lieutenant-General in Acadie, with sufficient men and arms and supplies to surround the position with something more than an empty halo.

Then followed the despatch of Isaac de Razily, a relation of Richelieu, with a definite mission to drive the Scotch out of Acadie; and with him were Nicholas Denys, destined to succeed L'Escarbot as a picturesque scribe, and D'Aubray Charnisay, a French nobleman of ability and intense ambition. Various minor struggles with New England ensued, in which success generally rested with the French, and where both De la Tour and Charnisay distinguished themselves. De Razily died in 1636, and left his power in the divided hands of two antagonistic and ambitious men. De la Tour retired to a new fortress which he had built at the mouth of the St. John River, and for five years ruled, practically, over the Nova Scotia peninsula. Charnisay remained at Port Royal, which he had rebuilt and greatly strengthened, and maintained authority along the coast of the New Brunswick and Maine of the future, from Chignecto to Pemaquid.

JEALOUSY OF GREAT RIVALS

Each was jealous of the other's power and plans, but, while De la Tour rested in proud contempt within the walls of his fortress, surrounded by his family and relatives, his soldiers, Indians, and steadily successful fur-traders, Charnisay sought the seat of power and undermined his rival's reputation at the Court of France. In 1641 he was successful. De la Tour was deprived of his position and possessions and ordered to France under arrest. It was a desperate case. To go was to meet ruin at the hands of a Cardinal who hated the Huguenots; to stay was to court ruin as a

rebel. But in the latter case De la Tour knew his friends would stand by him, and his followers fight for him; while chance might at any time reverse the conditions prevalent at Paris. He therefore stayed, and his defiance resulted in a strife which filled the forests and coasts of Acadie with the sights and sounds of civil war during a number of years.

It was the war of a hero, and the fitting wife of a hero, with a man whose character has been revealed by the light of passing years, and of history, as so infamous in its indifference to honor and integrity as to defy the powers of restrained description. The real qualities of De la Tour were open to the world, and had obtained the respect of all who knew him. As so often happens in the history of countries, he was the one man who, at this crisis, might have made Acadie a great and prosperous French state. But he was denied the opportunity by a fate that has ordained other ends for the region which two rivals were then struggling with such varied motives to possess and rule. Those of De la Tour were the ambitions of a patriot combined with much of the prescience of a statesman. Those of Charnisay were the self-seeking principles of a trader combined with the unscrupulous personal designs of a Philippe Egalité.

The conflict began by Charnisay attacking Fort La Tour at the mouth of the St. John, in the spring of 1643, and being repulsed with considerable loss. It continued through his close investment of the place and the arrival of reinforcements from France; and was marked by the escape of De la Tour and his wife to Boston through the close lines of the enemy, and by their return in triumph with five ships full of strong and willing men from Massachusetts. It ended, for the moment, in the chagrin and amazement of Charnisay and his hasty flight to Port Royal. The result should have been a permanent one, with Port Royal taken and Charnisay captured. But the New Englanders had to be considered, and De la Tour found that they were amply content with the booty in furs which they had gained and the terms which they had forced him to yield. Perhaps, too, their thrifty

patriotism saw possibilities of injury to France and benefit to themselves in not too suddenly ending the war of the rivals. De la Tour, therefore, set himself to strengthen his defences and consolidate his resources, while his brave wife—whose conduct during the hardships of the siege, the escape, and the journey to Boston had already been heroic—started for France to obtain assistance from her Huguenot friends in Rochelle. Charnisay, meanwhile, departed for Paris, where he arranged to have his rival's wife arrested for treason. She escaped him, however, reached England in safety, and, after twelve weary months of peril and adventure, arrived home at Fort La Tour.

She had brought some help back with her and her husband went to Boston to get more with the intention of this time finishing his foe. Charnisay heard of his departure and with cruisers and troops at once invested the fortress. The gallant wife did everything to supply her husband's place, and, perhaps, she more than filled it. Supplies ran short and traitors were discovered. Instead of being hanged they were mistakenly driven with contempt from the fort and intelligence thus afforded Charnisay as to the state of the garrison. Fire was opened by his battleships, but it was replied to with a force and good-will which destroyed one of his ships and drove back his men with heavy loss. For two months the heroic garrison and the gallant lady defied his blockade and laughed, apparently, at the assault which he was afraid to deliver. De la Tour, meanwhile, had returned from Boston and lay cruising as near as possible to the scene of the siege, but his single ship was no match for the fleet of his enemy. One night, in the month of April, Charnisay plucked up courage to once more defy the chances of battle with this woman who seemed able to resist all the men and ships he could bring against her. During three days the fresh struggle lasted, while every rampart was attacked at once and every weak spot seemed known to the enemy. But the starving garrison, though depleted in numbers and weakened by privation, seemed inspired with the courage of their

leader and held their own with the fortitude of men who knew that they were fighting against fate, but that they were doing so for a woman who was worthy of their loyalty and the sacrifice of their lives.

At last a Swiss mercenary turned traitor and threw open the gates. Charnisay entered in triumph, but none knew better than he that victory was still far away. Then came the blackest and meanest deed in the history of the northern part of the continent. Afraid of this woman, afraid of being again repulsed by her leadership in the prolonged fight which must still follow, Charnisay asked for a truce and offered honorable terms. With a woman's natural desire to save her brave followers, Mme. de la Tour consented and the terms of capitulation were duly drawn up. Then, with the fortress in his hands and the chatelaine at his mercy, this mockery of a man tore up the document, repudiated his obligations and his honor, and, placing a halter around the neck of the brave woman who had beaten him in fair fight, forced her to watch the death struggles of her soldiers as one by one they were hanged on the ramparts. Carried to Port Royal by the conqueror, the heroine of Acadie died of a broken heart at the end of three long and weary weeks spent, no doubt, in brooding thought over a broken home and butchered followers and a husband who was now a wanderer on the face of the earth.

A TURN OF THE WHEEL OF FATE

Charnisay, like the wicked of Scriptural fame, flourished to the full of his expectations during the next few years. Supreme in Acadie, confident of his favor at Court, fair of word and arrangement with New England, reaping riches from the fur-trade, successful in crushing his only remaining rival—Nicholas Denys, who had been his friend and schoolmate, but had become rich and strong in Cape Breton Island—this traitor and perjured murderer seemed well content with his fortune and fate and devoted a good deal of time to the Christianizing of the Indians. Suddenly, in 1650, as

if in mockery of his fair future hopes and the brightness of his prospects, he fell into the little river at Port Royal and was drowned like a rat. De la Tour, meanwhile, had been treated with the respect he deserved in the parts of New England and the continent in which he had spent five years of a wandering life, and was now able to go to France, refute the falsehoods of his enemy, and receive every reparation which the King could give.

He was made Governor of Acadie, the fur-trade monopoly was placed in his hands, and, to ensure the permanence of his fortune, he cut another knot of difficulty by marrying Charnisay's widow and taking the children of his great rival into his hands and under his protection. But it is easy to believe that nothing, to a man of his sensibilities and character, could compensate for the shattered home of his earlier happiness, or the death of the brave men who had helped to make and keep his earlier fortunes. Another turn of the wheel of fate was in store, however, for both the French Governor and the governed. England was now in the stern and successful hands of Cromwell, and a large expedition, which had been sent to capture the Dutch settlements on the Hudson, was turned suddenly and without notice upon Acadie, through peace being patched up between England and Holland. De la Tour was easily overpowered under such circumstances and Acadie overrun. Boston and New England were at the back of the new move; Cromwell, who seems to have understood the great issues turning upon the apparently petty struggles of these rival settlements, refused to intervene, or to restore Acadie to France; and De la Tour was seemingly crushed and ruined once more. But he was not the man to meet such a fate without effort. Going to England, he saw Cromwell and impressed him, evidently, by both his arguments and his personality. The stern Protector relented, and granted the whole region down into the centre of what is now the State of Maine to a Company which included De la Tour and Sir Thomas Temple. The latter was made Governor, the former soon sold out his

great interests in the grant, and, weary of tempting fate, retired to the comfortable obscurity of private life.

Until 1667, when Charles II gave back Acadie to France in the Treaty of Breda, the land rested in reasonable quietude. From that time until the finger of fate placed its seal upon the country in 1710 and made it British, Acadie, or Nova Scotia, as it was called in England, had many Governors, but no man of towering personality among them. And, though its place is so important upon the pages of history, its white population during this period could always be counted by hundreds and only rose into thousands as a small and steady migration toward the end of the eighteenth century began to have a perceptible influence. The most striking figure in these last years of French rule was that of the Baron St. Castin—hunter and wood-ranger, fighter in a lawless fashion on behalf of law and order, warden of the marshes upon the Penobscot, friend of the Indians and guardian of Acadian soil against New England raids. With his Indian wife, with wealth gained by the fur-trade, and with influence at Port Royal maintained through his power over the Indians, St. Castin presents a most picturesque personality and one full of material for the romancist in these later days of the fiction historical.

Meanwhile, the Province shared in the ups and downs of Colonial rivalry and war. It suffered from the raid of Sir William Phipps and his Boston men in 1690; from the soldiers of Fort William Henry at Pemaquid; from the ever fluctuating boundaries and the devastation of Indian fighting on one side or the other. In these conflicts, St. Castin shared and at times triumphed, while in 1692, Iberville le Moyne, the dashing darling of French-Canadian history, sailed into the Bay of Fundy, fought the British fleet in a drawn battle and captured the fort at Pemaquid. In 1710, the end of Acadie as a French country came when Colonel Nicholson, with English ships and Colonial soldiers on the way to again attempt the capture of Quebec, overpowered the little garrison of Port Royal and overran the Province. The war-

scarred fortress was renamed Annapolis in honor of Queen Anne, and, although St. Castin and his Indians did their best for the Lilies of France and tried hard to again take possession of Pemaquid when Nicholson left, the struggle was useless. Although the expedition against Quebec had failed, England was in a strong enough position in Europe to dictate terms and by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 to retain Acadie while only giving up to France the Islands now known as Cape Breton and Prince Edward; together with certain fishing privileges on the coast of Newfoundland.

Now began the evolution of the romantic and regrettable Acadian question. The people of French extraction, during the years of peace which followed, increased largely in numbers and certainly did not decrease in sentimental loyalty toward France. Their Mother-country was steadily strengthening its position in the Gulf of St. Lawrence with a view to the future reconquest of Acadie. The vast fortifications of Louisbourg were designed by Vauban and built at great expense on the Island of Cape Breton. That place became the headquarters of French power and pretensions on the Atlantic, the home of French privateers, and the Mecca of Acadian hopes. It supplied the Acadians with a market for their products, kept them in touch with French sympathies and aspirations and plots, and prevented their peaceful acceptance of British rule.

CONDUCT AND CHARACTER OF THE ACADIANS

They professed neutrality, refused to take the oath of allegiance without a proviso against being compelled to take up arms in opposition to France, and became the easy victims of emissaries from Quebec intent upon stirring up mischief, the frequent allies of the ever-hostile Indians, and the friendly spies of the Louisbourg garrison. Presently, the country came once more within touch of the swinging pendulum of European war, and, in 1745, after one of the most memorable sieges of history—and an incidental French attempt to capture Annapolis—the mighty fortress of Louis-

bourg, the sentinel and guardian of French power on the Atlantic, was captured by William Pepperell and his gallant New Englanders. Three years later it was returned to France, and during the eight years following continued to be a thorn in the flesh to English power in Nova Scotia—the Acadie of old. Along the unsettled borders of that vaguely defined region, the French of Quebec also maintained their claims and a policy of pin-pricks and fretful irritation. They were helped by the sullen, silly attitude of the Acadians and by the ever-available information furnished by a friendly population of French and Indian and mixed extraction.

After the founding of Halifax, in 1749, and the steady accretion of English or Scotch immigrants, it was decided that something must be done with the Acadians, who would neither leave the country and join their friends nor remain in the country as faithful subjects. They wanted to live at peace and in possession of their homes with the privilege of acting as enemies of British supremacy when it so pleased them. This was the real meaning of "neutrality" under existing conditions. Governor Cornwallis called the leaders into conference in 1749 without success and warned them without effect. A few were sensible and took the oath and kept it. The majority were not and still remained subject to the machinations of French authorities, or the schemes of French priests such as the notorious Le Loutre. This man, typical of the restless condition of the country and embodying fierce fanaticism worthy of his devoted followers among the Mic-macs, made himself the centre of discontent, of border warfare, of Indian outrage, of midnight raids. The Black Abbé, as he was called, dominated loyal and disloyal alike—the former by terror and the latter by a sentiment of shrinking respect for the intensity of his desire to restore French power.

The massacre of English people in Dartmouth by Indians under his supposed commands, the building of Fort Beauséjour on the Isthmus of Chignecto by Acadians working un-

der his compulsion, the murder of Captain Howe near Fort Lawrence, when bearing a flag of truce, and by Indians known to be under Le Loutre's orders, are pages in the life-drama of a most extraordinary man. But the end was near. In 1754 the French Governor at Quebec absolved Acadians of any allegiance to England whatever, and declared that they must join the militia of New France against the common enemy. Colonel Lawrence, Governor of Nova Scotia, naturally retaliated by proclaiming that any Acadian who had taken the oath and was caught fighting against the British Crown would be shot as a deserter. The French planned an invasion from Beauséjour, the English anticipated the movement and captured the fort, which was promptly demolished.

A PATHETIC EVENT

Then followed the pathetic event which has been so widely discussed as a result of Longfellow's popular and charming version of the story. The qualities of the Acadians naturally lent themselves to poetic description and their sad fate has also brought them much of sympathy and the halo which time so often throws around the memory of great sufferings. But if the gentle, attractive, courteous character of the industrious Acadian deserves admiration, so also does his weakness in trying to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds deserve condemnation. If the beautiful villages of Minas and Grand Pré and the lovely little homes of the people win our sympathetic appreciation, so also should the continuous effort of the British soldiers to protect them and of the British Governor to throw around and over them the shield of British allegiance. It had now, however, become apparent that the Gordian knot must be cut, and the secret enemy within the gates be plainly dealt with. One last and vigorous warning was given that the oath must be taken and that the olive branch thus held out was final. They were told distinctly that British allegiance, or foreign exile, was now to be the Acadians' choice.

They chose the latter, though with an evident disbelief in its accomplishment, and an evident faith in their own immunity from punishment. Governor Lawrence at once made his arrangements, with sternness and secrecy. Colonel Winslow, and troops from New England, supervised the operation, which began suddenly in the summer of 1755. Within a few months over 6,000 Acadians were sent from Minas, Piziquid, Annapolis, and Chignecto to various points in the British Colonies to the south—a few to England and the West Indies. Every effort was made to keep families together and to preserve to the unfortunate their precious lares and penates. But there was necessarily much of hardship and suffering, much of romantic adventure and stern, unrelieved sorrow. The beautiful and historic village of Grand Pré was given to the flames and Nova Scotia was finally British to the core. Governor Lawrence, in his letter to the Governors of the other Colonies regarding the exiles, made this fairly reasonable explanation of his action:

"I offered such of them as had not been openly in arms against us a continuance of the possession of their lands if they would take the oath of allegiance unqualified by any reservation whatsoever; but this they have most audaciously as well as unanimously refused, and if they would presume to do this when there is a large fleet of ships of war in the Harbor and a considerable land force in the Province, what might we expect from them when the approaching winter deprives us of the former, and when the troops, who are only hired from New England occasionally and for a small time, have returned home?"

The deed, however, was done, and seems to have been one of those incidents in a vast, tangled web of Empire-building where an isolated Governor did the best he could with a difficult situation. As time passed on and events made British power secure against either French plot or French assault, the Acadians were allowed to wander back to their old homes and to rebuild the altars of their sires, until, by the Census of 1891, in the Canadian Provinces of the Atlantic there were more than a hundred thousand loyal, light-hearted, and prosperous British subjects of Acadian descent.

CHAPTER V

THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH WARS

IT was a vast and splendid setting which nature provided in North America for the panorama of war between France and England. Amid the gloomy aisles of endless forests, in a region thousands of miles in length and breadth, amid a myriad of lakes and rivers, and around the inland seas which empty through the St. Lawrence into the Atlantic, bodies of armed men marched to and fro and the sound of cannon echoed through wastes hitherto sacred to the freedom of the animal world and the wild vagaries of savage tribes.

RIVALRY AND WARFARE OF A CENTURY

Sometimes, as the hundred years of intermittent conflict passed away, war would break out between the settlements of New France and the far-away Colonies on the New England coast; sometimes it reached the Canadian shores or passed in a course of devastation down the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys; sometimes the sound of English guns would be heard from the ramparts of Quebec, or the tramp of New England volunteers echo through the forests bordering on the Great Lakes; sometimes it would occur when the Mother-countries were nominally at peace; sometimes the war-whoop of the savage would be heard on one side, or on both, and the shadow of the scalping-knife rest over the pioneer homes of French and English alike. Everywhere and at all times the issue was the ownership of a continent, as

> "The flag of England and the flag of France
> Waved in war's alternate chance."

The rivalry was inevitable, the hositility bitter, the conflict of diplomacy or of war continuous, the result concealed

from view and its importance hardly understood. For a time, indeed, it was uncertain. The French sailors and navigators were as brave and enthusiastic and determined as were the English; and Cartier, Champlain, De Monts, and Poutrincourt rank easily with Kirke and Alexander, Gilbert and Raleigh. Men like Drake and Frobisher cared little for permanent colonization and thought more of destroying a Spanish town or capturing a French ship in southern seas than of founding a city or establishing a colony in the north. The French monarchs, fluctuating as was their interest in New France or in Acadia, yet did much more than the rulers of England to aid and encourage their infant settlements.

CLAIMS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE

It is true that England never abandoned the wide and shadowy claims which rested upon the discoveries of Cabot, any more than France ceased to press those based upon the explorations of Verrazano. But in the former case the claims were used more as a lever for checking the enemy's ambition, or for obtaining equivalents elsewhere in peace negotiations, than because England really wished to establish an empire in the New World. Hence the result turned eventually upon the character of the actual colonists, their fitness for the rugged work of pioneer life, and the willingness with which the wild adventure, or uncertain trade, or the independence of the wilderness, might be sought for by the peoples of the home country. In this respect France at first took the lead, and, throughout a vast extent of country, its voyageurs and trappers and traders swarmed up the lakes and rivers and through the pathless forests, emulating the Indian in hunting prowess and carrying with them the flag of France.

North and south of the St. Lawrence, up to Hudson's Bay and down the region watered by much of the Mississippi, they led the way, and received the fluctuating support of great fur companies whose fortunes varied with events of

state in Paris and the chances of war in America. The St. Malo Company in 1599; De Monts and Champlain for a number of years following 1603; the Rouen Company formed by Champlain in 1614, and its rival, De Caen, in 1620; the Montmorency, organized from the union of the two latter, in 1622; the famous Company of the Hundred Associates, which largely ruled New France between 1627 and 1663; the Habitants Company of 1645; the Du Nord, established at Quebec in 1682 for the purpose of Hudson's Bay trade, and others, found full scope for the longings of ambitious and adventurous spirits as well as for the aims of those who only desired a means of making money or perhaps of wielding power.

With the hunters and fur-traders—many of the former were of noble name and high rank—may be classed in this connection the Jesuits who sought the salvation of souls and the expansion of France in the wilderness of America. They were pathfinders of empire as well as leaders of religion, and they did much to forward the interests of the Most Christian King; and would have done more had they not at times introduced that element of sectarian ascendency into secular councils which is always so disastrous to united action.

Opposed to these influences of zeal and energy and spirit there was nothing for a time but the slowly growing line of scattered settlements along the coast of the Atlantic and some slight English fishing interests on the Newfoundland coasts, although further south Spain was taking possession of Florida, Mexico, Cuba, and other West Indian Islands, and Bermuda. Moreover, there was little of unity in thought or character between the Puritans of Massachusetts and the Cavaliers of Virginia; to say nothing of the Dutch settlements in New York which were to ultimately become English in allegiance and name. But there was the great factor of commerce and the greater natural gift of a colonizing spirit in the English people. It was not the kind of feeling which made migration to New France probable so long as

there were abundant chances of war and opportunities for a wandering life, but the sentiment which sent a steady stream of settlers from England in search of a home and with sturdy willingness to take the chances of conflict or the risk of an adventurous life as incident to the main object. The French built fortresses and trained soldiers, and excelled in all the arts of skilled hunting and in the fervor of religious self-sacrifice. The English founded homes, created villages, developed commerce, and considered all the rest as incidental to a period which must in time pass away and leave them the possessors of a peaceful soil and free communities. With such characteristics the result, though hidden from human sight at the time, was inevitable when once that thin line of English settlement began to grow thick and overflow its borders north and west and south.

EVIDENCE OF GROWTH OF ENGLISH INFLUENCES

Argall's expedition into Acadie, in 1612, and his conquest of Port Royal, formed at once a veiled evidence and a certain commencement of this process. Then came Sir William Alexander's grant, in 1621, from King James I, of the whole of Acadie; his effort to establish a colony two years later; and the failure which followed as a result of new French settlements. Charles I had confirmed this grant in 1628, and, as war had just been declared against France on behalf of the Huguenots, he despatched an expedition to capture New France—of which substantial territory, with its shadowy and far-stretching boundaries, Acadie was supposed to be in some sense a part. Admiral Kirke and his fleet arrived during the summer in the St. Lawrence, and for the first time in history the English flag swept at the masthead of an English ship between the shores of the great Canadian river. Champlain was in a deplorable condition in his newly built citadel on the lofty rock of Quebec, but, though without supplies, with few soldiers, and with only a faint hope of support from home, he refused the demand to surrender which came from Tadoussac, and held on to his, as yet, poorly forti-

fied capital. The English Admiral, however, encountered a large French fleet at the mouth of the Saguenay which had been sent to the assistance of Champlain, captured part of it, and destroyed the rest. Satisfied with this success, he returned to England, but in the following year came out again and found the French settlement at Quebec on the point of starvation and under the necessity of surrender.

During the three years following, all New France was in the hands of the English, and much profit was found in the fur-trade; while a Scotch settlement made satisfactory progress at Port Royal, in Acadie. By the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, in 1632, however, this wide Acadian country was returned to France in exchange for a sugar island in the Pacific and for some arrears of money due the English King upon his wife's dowry. It was the beginning of a long and shifting panorama of war and nominal peace, of rivalry and struggle, of intrigue and cabal, of Indian massacre and conflict. Amid it all the clear ambition of French leaders of the class of Champlain and Frontenac, or Vaudreuil and Montcalm, shone out over the troubled waters of war and corruption in New France and made for success in their common aim of a great French Empire in America. The prolonged struggle which ensued between the colonies of England and those of France did not run along the lines of the relation maintained by their Mother-countries. They, of course, dropped readily into the mold cast by European wars such as those of 1666, the King William's War of 1689-97, the Spanish Succession of 1702-3, the Austrian Succession of 1742-48, or the Seven Years' War of 1755-63.

But, preceding and following what might be termed the orthodox wars, were the irregular ones rising out of local differences and implacable racial rivalries. The first of these were the Acadian troubles already referred to, and in which the natural instincts of the different peoples found some play. During the civil strife, which occurred in Acadie between De la Tour and Charnisay, with all its picturesque features and dramatic incidents, Governor Winthrop of Massachu-

setts illustrated the situation by supporting one of the local combatants. As he put the matter, in replying to some one who opposed this intervention on religious grounds: "Is it more safe, just, and honorable to neglect a Providence which puts it in our power to succor an unfortunate neighbor, *at the same time weakening a dangerous enemy,* than to allow that enemy to work out his own purposes?" In 1644, a short-lived treaty of amity and peace was arranged between Acadie and New England, and ten years later the expedition intended by Cromwell for Quebec succeeded in expelling the French from St. John and Port Royal—with some help from Massachusetts. It was, in the land of the Lilies, a period of most deplorable complication, and it has been said that the trappers and hunters in the forests of Acadie during these years recognized at intervals as their Sovereign the Lord Protector of England, the future King Charles II, and Louis XIV of France—sometimes all three!

As yet, however, the hostility between the Colonists of England and those of France had not reached the stage of almost savage bitterness, which toward the end of the century began to characterize it, and was so greatly intensified, if not primarily caused, by the merciless warfare with the Indians. In 1664, New Netherlands had been taken by the British from the Dutch, and the city which the latter had founded re-christened as New York. La Salle and Father Hennepin had explored the Mississippi region and given the French strong claims to the vast territory reaching down through the heart of the continent. Meanwhile, both nations and both classes of Colonists were trying to obtain and retain the alliance of the Indians, and to maintain their supremacy in the great fur-trade of the interior. At this time, also, it must be remembered, the French power vastly overshadowed the English in America and included under the sway of Louis XIV most of the Hudson's Bay country, Acadie, Canada proper, or New France, as it was usually designated in a phrase which contracted and expanded a good deal from time to time, much of Maine, portions of Vermont

and New York, and the whole valley of the Mississippi. Little wonder therefore that the New Englanders dreaded the further expansion of those whom they looked upon as hereditary, if not natural, enemies.

FRANCE DECLARES WAR UPON WILLIAM III

The chronic French war with the Iroquois—which reached acute stages from 1633 to 1645, from 1652 to 1654, and from 1661 to 1666—was again stirred up in 1687 by the differences of the Marquis de Denonville of New France with Governor Dongan of New York. It reached a white-heat in 1689 when France declared war upon William III of England, and it lasted with fluctuating intensity until 1700. The French-Canadian population at this time numbered about 11,000; that of the English Colonies was over 200,000. Both sides prepared for action and both sides sought Indian aid. From France came Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, a man who in energy, resource, and determination was an army in himself. From 1689 to 1698 he acted as Governor of New France, and carried matters with as high a hand as poverty of men and armament and troublous controversies within his own realm would permit. By his instructions from the King, the Hudson's Bay territory was to be at once invaded and the Province of New York overrun. In the former case, success came as a result of the brilliance and dash of Iberville le Moyne. Meanwhile, the Iroquois had glided in their light canoes down the St. Lawrence, ravaged its shores and reached the very gates of Montreal. On the other hand, the Abenaquis took the part of the French, and struck terror by their raids along much of the New England border.

During the succeeding winter of 1689-90 Frontenac despatched three expeditions of French troops, assisted by various Indian allies, into the heart of New York. Schenectady and the other positions aimed at were captured, and much of the country ravaged by these intrepid but merciless bodies of men. They had marched hundreds of miles through snow

and ice into the centre of a hostile territory, and the result illustrated once more the power of a great mind at the head of affairs in a time of peril. Frontenac simply compelled success, and, with proper support from France at this and other junctures, might have changed the history of North America and of the world. This particular incident was, however, only a raiding incursion, and when Frontenac wanted to really invade New York in the following year, King Louis could not spare the troops, and the Quebec garrison of a few hundred men was necessarily insufficient. If, however, Frontenac was unable to take the offensive, the men of Massachusetts were, and an expedition was fitted out under Sir William Phipps which speedily overran Acadie, destroyed Port Royal, and annexed the country to his own Province. Frontenac retorted by worrying and harassing the frontiers of the English Colonies, and was soon able to again take possession of his much-harried Atlantic country.

Meantime, William III was being urged to take an active interest in the American struggle, but, like King Louis, was much too busy in Europe. New York and Connecticut, therefore, undertook to supply a force for the overland invasion of New France and the capture of Montreal, while Massachusetts got together a fleet of 35 vessels, with 44 guns and 2,000 men for the siege of Quebec by sea. The command of the latter armament was given to Sir William Phipps—a Colonist of wealth, rank, and romantic experiences in the vivid life of that time, who had already distinguished himself in aggressive work. Owing, however, to miscalculation as to the season, various unexpected delays, and some repulses on land from the French, the fleet eventually had to return home without accomplishing anything—despite the quaint remark of Cotton Mather that, during its absence, "the wheel of prayer in New England has been continually going round." At the same time the land force, under General Winthrop, had to retreat from the banks of Lake George, where it had delayed further advance until hearing something of Phipps. The latter was then sent to England for

assistance, and the making of some arrangements about Provincial charters. He returned with the promise of ships and his appointment as Governor of the United Provinces of Massachusetts, Maine, Plymouth, and Nova Scotia; while Frontenac received word about the same time that King Louis would have sent a fleet to attack the English Colonies had his means permitted.

In 1693, the British fleet sailed, as promised, under command of Sir Francis Wheeler, but on its way disease broke out and over 3,000 sailors and soldiers died. Eventually, the Admiral and his ships returned without doing anything. During the next three years the French Governor-General succeeded in checking and chastising the Iroquois and rebuilding Fort Frontenac, which had been previously destroyed by the Colonial forces. He then planned a regular campaign, and it was opened by Iberville le Moyne with the capture and destruction of the Fort at Pemaquid, on the Bay of Fundy—perhaps the strongest possessed by the English colonies in all North America. He then captured St. John's, Newfoundland, and with a few hundred men overran the Island. From thence he departed to the far Hudson's Bay territory, and in a short time had taken the principal forts, subdued nearly the whole of the country with a mere handful of men—of course, the English population was itself very scattered and small—and returned laden with booty in furs and peltries, and with a well-deserved reputation for skill and valor. Later on, in a second expedition to the same northern regions, he encountered two English ships at anchor upon the inner shores of the Bay, lured the men into an ambuscade on land and destroyed the vessels.

But the end of the prolonged war had come for the moment, and, by the Treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, each nation returned to the other the places or territory it had captured. William III had made his mark in Europe, and had weakened the immense power of Louis the Great. In America, after a struggle extending up the Mississippi, around the shores of the Great Lakes, into the ice-bound regions of the

north, and along the stormy shores of Newfoundland, matters were again demitted to their former condition. No peace made in Europe, however, could hold good amid the conditions prevalent in America. The two great rivals were striving more and more strenuously with every passing year for supremacy in trade and for the control of trade routes on the St. Lawrence and the Hudson. To the French at Quebec, the natural policy, and the one pursued by La Salle, by Frontenac, and his great Intendant, Talon, by De Courcelles, and by some of the later Governors, was to surround the English with a vast combination of French settlements and forts, and to restrict their power and place to the small strip of soil on the Atlantic Coast. At times, even more was hoped for, and Louis XIV once gave instructions for deporting the English at New York in much the same fashion as was afterward actually applied to the French of Acadie. Upon the other hand, the English policy was naturally one of cooping the French up in the valley of the St. Lawrence, and thus checking their enterprising expansion north and south. In this aim the English Colonies, of course, were tremendously helped by the bitter hostility of the Iroquois to the French name and nationality.

The Treaty of Ryswick only lasted five years, and then the War of the Spanish Succession commenced, with England, Austria, and Holland pitted against France and Spain. It was a glorious war for England, though one of varied failures and successes in America. British victories at Blenheim, Oudenarde, Ramillies, and Malplaquet rang through Europe like a long-sustained peal of thunder from a stormy sky, and the echo in North America indicated, at last, the line of ultimate success in the great struggle for a continent. At first, the war in the New World was the old story of petty raids, cruel surprises, and Indian forays. Massachusetts whale-boats harassed the Acadian coasts; a Boston fleet tried to capture Port Royal, but failed; Hertel was sent by De Vaudreuil, the Governor of New France, with a mixed war party of French and Indians, and succeeded in surprising

and destroying the inhabitants of the little English village of Haverhill, on the Merrimac; schemes were laid for the invasion of New York, and rival preparations made for the conquest of New France; the Iroquois played off one nationality against the other, and profited by the enhanced antagonisms.

AN AGGRESSIVE FRINGE OF BRITISH COLONIES

Finally, in 1709, Colonel Nicholson, an able English officer, organized an expedition of ships and Colonial troops for the capture of Quebec. When ready, however, the season was too far advanced, and he led it to the coasts of Acadie, where for the last time Port Royal was taken and its name changed to Annapolis Royal. Acadie fell easily into his hands, and, with the later appearance of fifteen men-of-war under Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker—bearing a number of Marlborough's fighting regiments for the capture of the great French fortress on the St. Lawrence—it really seemed as if the knell of French power had rung in America. In the following spring Walker sailed from Boston for Quebec, and Nicholson marched overland to Lake Champlain.

But the former proved an utterly incapable officer and leader, and, after a series of mishaps and mistakes, left half his ships on the reefs of the St. Lawrence, and carried the shreds of a one-time reputation back to England. Nicholson had to return in rage and disgust to Boston, while the churches of New France were filled with pæans of gratitude over this narrow and unexpected escape at a time of great internal weakness and distress. In three years peace came at Utrecht, and, this time, England returned nothing and received much. Acadie, Newfoundland, the Hudson's Bay territory, and St. Kitts in the West Indies were surrendered by France, although Cape Breton—then known as Isle Royal—the Island of St. John (now Prince Edward Island) and other places in the Gulf at St. Lawrence were still retained.

It was really the beginning of the end, and, instead of restricting and hemming in the English settlements, New

France was now met on the north, the east, and partly on the south, by an aggressive fringe of growing British Colonies. She still, however, held the gates of the two great waterways and the mighty inland seas of the continent firmly in her grasp, and guarded the possibilities of the boundless west. The future seemed by no means hopeless. Hence the plots among the Acadians; the building of a strong fort at Niagara and of a rival English one at Oswego; the creation of the great fortifications at Louisbourg and the preparations to hold the mouth of the St. Lawrence against all comers and to recover Acadie; the effort to colonize the far west and De la Verendrye's explorations in that direction; the building of a French fort at the head of Lake Champlain—the afterward famous Crown Point. Peace in a sort of fashion lasted, however, until 1740, when the war of the Austrian Succession began, and gave an opportunity to France and England to once more meet in deadly struggle. Nominally it was over the accession of Maria Theresa to the throne of Austria; practically it was an effort by France and Spain to crush the external empire of England and sweep to the pit of destruction her growing commerce. The event materially and immediately affected matters in America.

The French Governor of Louisbourg, in Cape Breton, quickly decided to capture Annapolis, and for this purpose invaded Nova Scotia, took possession of minor settlements and laid siege to the English capital. For weeks he maintained his ground, but the commander, Paul Mascarene, was a vigorous and determined leader, and the timely arrival of reinforcements compelled the French to withdraw. In return for the courtesy of this attack, Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, organized an expedition of 4,000 farmers and merchants, together with a small fleet, for the capture of Louisbourg—then one of the most powerful fortifications in the world, and held by trained and experienced soldiers under Duchambou, an officer of good reputation. William Pepperell, a man of immense courage and resourceful ability, but with no military experience, was appointed to the com-

mand. After swift preparations and rapid movements, he reached Canso, a place not far from the fortress, with his expedition, and was there joined by Commodore Warren with four English battleships. Early on the following morning the army of volunteers was in front of a place which a French officer had once declared could be held by an army of women against assault.

Details of the siege which followed consist of incidents of steady and brave attack, of ceaseless cannonading and the continuous repulse of the garrison's sorties, of final assault and victory. The surrender was the occasion of wild acclaim and rejoicing throughout New England, of utter dismay in New France, of determinations at Paris to regain the all-important place. Two great fleets were despatched for this purpose. One, of thirty-nine men-of-war, met with almost countless misfortunes and had to return with only a remnant of ships and men. The other, in 1747, was met off Cape Finisterre, in the Bay of Biscay, and was utterly annihilated by Admiral Anson. In the succeeding year peace was formally made at Aix-la-Chapelle, and France, which had upon the whole been successful in Europe and had won from England the rich plains of Madras, was able to recover Louisbourg in exchange for its Indian conquest—to the intense chagrin of New England and New York.

The peace, however, was only nominal. The boundaries of Nova Scotia formed an easy and continuous subject of dispute in America, while Clive and Dupleix kept up an open war in India, with ultimate victory to the former. De la Gallissonière was now Governor-General on the banks of the St. Lawrence and all his activity and skill were devoted to the strengthening of French power. He claimed New Brunswick and Eastern Maine as French-Canadian territory, maintained forts along the frontiers of the Nova Scotian peninsula, marked a boundary line down the valley of the Ohio, and restricted English trade in all this immense region. The English, meanwhile, founded Halifax, brought out settlers to Nova Scotia, expelled the bulk of

the Acadians for intriguing with the French authorities at Quebec, and captured Fort Beauséjour on the border of the Province.

FIGHTING IN THE FORESTS

Duquesne, who succeeded De la Gallissonière, pushed the claims and power of France in the west with equal vigor. After the failure of a Joint Commission which sat in Paris to try and determine the boundaries of the Ohio region, he built several new forts and strengthened the old ones, meanwhile winning the alliance of many tribes of Western Indians. To meet this aggressive policy, the Colonists south of Nova Scotia sent a notable protest by a youth named George Washington. He was courteously received but did not obtain satisfaction or practical result. Then they organized the Ohio Company for the purpose of trading in the disputed country—with or without leave—and built a fort at the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers. A French expedition promptly destroyed it and erected a stronger one which was named after the Governor at Quebec. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, with equal promptitude, at once sent a force under Washington to drive out the French. It was met by a small contingent which was cut to pieces, but the whole expedition was shortly afterward surrounded by the enemy in such numbers as to force surrender of the temporary intrenchments thrown up by Washington. The latter was allowed, however, to retire with his men and to return home with all the honors of war. Fort Duquesne was still safe in the hands of France.

In 1754, two English regiments were sent out under General Braddock, while France despatched a larger force under Baron Dieskau, at the urgent request of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who was now Governor-General at Quebec. Both Powers protested against the thought of war, while Braddock proceeded to plan the reduction of Forts Duquesne, Crown Point, and Niagara. During the following summer he led an expedition of 2,000 soldiers and Colonial

militia through the forests of the west toward Duquesne. In the defiles of the Monongahela Valley, however, his force was surprised by ambushed Indians and a force of 200 Frenchmen, who, unseen and unharmed by answering bullets, poured down an appalling storm of shot upon the helpless troops. Braddock was killed, Washington had two horses shot under him and his clothes riddled with bullets, and, finally, some 600 shamed and beaten troops escaped from the scene of the disaster. An expedition projected by Governor Shirley against Niagara was at once abandoned, though Colonel Johnson of Indian fame gathered a force of Mohawk warriors and Colonial volunteers and advanced toward Crown Point. Baron Dieskau, with his French troops, encountered the invaders at Lake George, fourteen miles from Fort Edward —a new English fortification on the Hudson.

The impetuous French leader dashed his men against the temporary barricade of logs and English guns which barred the way, but in vain, and, after being himself severely wounded and captured, the repulse became an utter rout. Thus, within a few years, two European commanders of different nations, had been defeated through refusal to understand or accept the peculiar conditions of American warfare. Johnson had, of course, retained his position, and, without advancing further, he proceeded to mark the victory by establishing a strong post which he called Fort William Henry. He was afterward made a baronet and lived to impress his name deeply upon subsequent English relations with the Indian tribes.

At the close of the year 1755 therefore, and at the beginning of the Seven Years' War in Europe, the French were triumphant in the west, beaten back in Acadie, and checked on Lake George. In the final struggle for supremacy which now began, England had Frederick the Great of Prussia as an ally, and France, Russia, Austria, and many minor States as antagonists. Out of this conflict she came gloriously triumphant. On the plains of Hindostan and throughout the wilds of America, her flag floated

in final victory; while the tireless Frederick maintained his grim and memorable contest in Europe. But the first years of the war in America were not very bright. Braddock's defeat had left the borders of more than one English Colony open and subject to relentless Indian raids. Local trouble and constitutional disputes—prophetic of a not distant future—came to a head in some of the Provinces, and Pennsylvania, while squabbling with its Governor, refused to protect its own frontier. France, meanwhile, had scored instant and early success by sending out the gallant Marquis de Montcalm to command its forces; England did the reverse by despatching the Earl of Loudoun and General Abercrombie. The French leader and Governor had not more than reached Quebec, in 1755, before he began operations by capturing and destroying Fort Oswego—the English base for a projected attack on Niagara. Then he hastened up to Lake Champlain and intrenched himself in Fort Ticonderoga. By these rapid moves he secured the west for the moment and fastened the gates of entrance to the region afterward known as Lower Canada, or Quebec.

Meantime, Lord Loudoun talked and did nothing. In 1757, however, he started for Halifax on the way to attack Louisbourg, but, unlike the gallant Pepperell in a previous campaign, he wasted months of precious time in spectacular preparations—until the place itself was strongly reinforced and twenty-two men-of-war were guarding the entrance to its harbor. Seeing Loudoun hundreds of miles away, where he was comparatively harmless, in his game of playing at war, Montcalm promptly sallied out of Ticonderoga and laid siege to Fort William Henry, with some 6,000 men. Owing to the cowardice of the English commander at neighboring Fort Edward, who had 3,600 men under him, the garrison was ultimately compelled to surrender upon a pledge of safety against the Indians and with the right of marching unarmed to the nearby British post. But Montcalm was unable to bind his savage allies, and, to his lasting sorrow, the glades of the forest suddenly rang with the Indian war-

whoop and the soil soon ran red with the blood of English men, women, and children. Short of calling out his own troops to shoot down the Indians, Montcalm and his officers did everything that men could do to check the slaughter; but the Commander's failure to defend his helpless prisoners with his whole force remains a stain upon an otherwise noble character and career.

END OF THE HISTORIC STRUGGLE

The end, however, of the whole historic struggle was now at hand. External as well as internal events controlled the result, and perhaps the chief of the former was the accession of William Pitt to power in England at this moment of greatest triumph to the French in America. Almost in an instant the change came. Pitt, like all great rulers, or statesmen, recognized that the success of a war, a campaign, or a battle frequently depends upon the men who lead rather than upon the soldiers themselves—important as the latter must always be in character and stamina. General Sir Jeffrey (afterward Field Marshal Lord) Amherst, a skilful and cautious officer of much experience, Major-General James Wolfe, a dashing and enthusiastic soldier who had already won the keen appreciation of the Great Commoner, and Admiral Boscawen, a brave and experienced sailor, were despatched in 1758 with an army and fleet to reduce Louisbourg and capture Quebec.

Within the walls of the great arsenal of strength on Cape Breton now centred much of French power and prestige in the New World. Four thousand citizens lived behind its mighty ramparts and 3,000 regular troops guarded what was now supposed to be an impregnable position. The attempt to take it was made, however, with a degree of dash and military and naval skill which marked the selections made by Pitt as an actual stroke of genius. Pepperell's original plan was to some extent followed by Amherst, and, after a heavy siege, during which occurred a constant interchange of courtesies between the leaders as well

as the free exchange of shot and shell, the gallant Chevalier de Drucour was finally compelled to surrender the surviving half of his garrison and the still frowning walls of his fortress. With the surrender went all Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island, while the great fortalice itself was leveled to the ground after months of labor. So well was the work of destruction done that, to-day, grass grows plentifully over the almost vanished line of earthworks, and the erstwhile scene of war and tumult and roaring cannon has become one of quiet pastoral peace and beauty.

The garrison was sent to England as prisoners of war, and Amherst, through the prolongation of the siege, was compelled to defer aggressive action against Quebec until the next season. Meantime, in the west, Abercrombie had hurled 15,000 men against Montcalm in Ticonderoga, but the breastwork of stakes and logs and trees proved invulnerable even to the claymores of the Highlanders and the dogged obstinacy of English charges. After leaving 2,000 dead in front of the enemy the English general retired again to Fort William Henry.

Elsewhere, Bradstreet was more successful, and, with a force of Colonial militia, crossed Lake Ontario and surprised and captured Fort Frontenac, with its rich stores and a number of French lake vessels. A little later, in November, 1758, General Forbes compelled the surrender of Fort Duquesne, and, in its place, erected Fort Pitt—the famous Pittsburg of a very different scene and era. And now the final act of this great drama of moving war was to come on the stage of destiny. In the spring three English expeditions were organized. General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson advanced upon and captured Fort Niagara and defeated the French relieving force. General Amherst marched to Lake George, forced the French to blow up Ticonderoga and retreat upon Crown Point, whence, through their ships, they still maintained supremacy on Lake Champlain. The English commander spent the summer in building ships to meet his enemy with—a sure but slow method

of capturing victory which gave much pleasure to the active mind of the lately beleaguered Montcalm.

WOLFE AND MONTCALM

Wolfe and Montcalm, meanwhile, were preparing for their face to face and final struggle. The former's army before Quebec consisted of some 9,000 carefully selected troops, with Moncton, Townshend, and Murray as Brigadiers-General, and with the co-operation of a strong fleet under Admiral Saunders. Montcalm had about 15,000 regulars and a thousand Indians. It was a tremendous undertaking for the English commander. The frowning and apparently impregnable ramparts of Quebec, bristling over the great cliffs of the St. Lawrence, and crowded with the gallant soldiery of France under the skilled leadership of a great general, might well have proclaimed it an impossible one. Wolfe's plan, at first, was to tempt his opponent out to battle, and for this purpose he divided his forces and built various redoubts and fortified points from which he could harass the defenders with shot and shell and gradually batter down the walls of the city. And, though not successful in drawing Montcalm from his stronghold, he did seriously weaken his outer defences. Meantime, however, the summer was passing and Wolfe knew something of the winter experiences of others who had attempted and failed in the same task.

Spurred on by these and other considerations he made one desperate attack upon the Beauport lines, behind the trenches of which lay the serried masses of Montcalm. But it was useless, and he withdrew after the loss of 500 of his men. Autumn came and hope grew high in the hearts of the besieged. Wolfe was ill, food was growing scarce, his men were becoming hopeless, the spirit of success seemed to have gone from the enterprise. Then came the forlorn hope and the secret advance up the Heights of Abraham. Discovery of the movement meant the annihilation of the English force; success meant the facing of an army twice its size and in the

best of health and spirits. But the plan succeeded, and, as morning broke on the 13th of September, 1759, the British troops stood upon the Plains and faced at last the army of France. Charging at the head of his Grenadiers, Wolfe was fatally wounded, and died with the sounds of success ringing in his ear. In the rout which ensued Montcalm was also mortally wounded and died on the following day. On the 17th of September the Lilies of France were hauled down from the great ramparts and the Standard of England and her Empire hoisted in their place.

This was practically the end. De Lévis succeeded to the French command and made a gallant effort to recover the lost ground. Upon the battlefield of St. Foye he defeated Murray, who had replaced Wolfe, and, had the expected French fleet arrived with reinforcements before the English, might have put a different face upon affairs. But the reverse was the case and he fell back upon Montreal. In September, 1760, De Lévis there found himself hemmed in by 17,000 British troops, and, in the ensuing capitulation, De Vaudreuil as the last Governor-General of New France, surrendered the whole country. The Treaty of Paris, on 10th February, 1763, closed the struggle of centuries, and by it a continent practically passed into the hands of England. Spain gave up Florida, and France surrendered everything in America except Louisiana (which a little later she ceded to Spain), the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and certain fishing privileges in Newfoundland. England was thus made mistress of the western world of North America at the moment she had become the dominant Power in the old eastern lands of Hindostan.

The American struggle had been a peculiar one. The civilized races engaged in it were alike brave and neither was naturally cruel. Yet, through their Indian alliances, the conflict had been often marked by uncivilized and barbaric actions. New France had been greatly hampered by indifference at home, and in later years by the criminal corruption of its officials and general misgovernment—a situa-

tion which all the skill and force and honesty of Montcalm could not overcome or even greatly modify. The whole system of French Canada in the last half century of its existence had been steeped in corruption and charged with the weakness of certain disintegration. Still, with all the faults of their leaders, and despite these fatal difficulties, it had been a gallant and brilliant exploit for 60,000 Frenchmen—all that there were in New France at the close of the *régime*—to face an ever-increasing volume of English population and to hold, for over a century, the vast territory they had so well defended against Iroquois savages as well as English enemies.

Of course, the latter had their own troubles, and, if their population in 1759 numbered a million and a quarter souls, it was none the less a divided and scattered people, with many indications of the coming stress of internal storm and revolution. The end of the international duel, as fought around the walls of Quebec, was a glorious one, as had been a myriad instances of individual heroism and collective conflict during its progress. Beside it, now, all other contests of the time seem dwarfed in the immensity of the issues involved and in the vast field over which the contestants fought. In its result this war of a century and a half paved the way for the establishment of the Dominion of Canada as the American bulwark of the British Empire and of the United States as one of the great Powers of the modern world.

CHAPTER VI

COLONIAL RIVALRY AND REVOLUTION

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL has said that the British conquest of Canada made the United States possible. It certainly removed from the Thirteen Colonies the northern shadow of military force and racial hostility which had so long menaced their homes and hampered their com-

mercial progress and territorial expansion. It averted the possibility of France some day waking up to the real greatness of her position in North America, and so strengthening her continental resources as to enable the almost impregnable heights of Quebec to dominate the future of a large part of America and control the development of a powerful French State reaching down into the heart of the continent, and perhaps in time joining hands with Spain in Florida and Louisiana. It increased the growing spirit of independence among the English colonists, and the feeling that they could do without British troops and British protection should occasion arise.

IMPORT OF ENGLISH CONQUEST OF CANADA

The victory of Wolfe at Quebec, therefore, which gave nearly a whole continent to Great Britain, really contributed in an indirect way to the loss of the Thirteen Colonies. The bonfires which then illumined the coasts and settlements of New England, and lit the market-places of New York and Philadelphia with the light of a great rejoicing, were the last of their kind in American history, and, in the capture of the army of Cornwallis at Saratoga, France obtained her revenge for the defeat of Montcalm on the Heights of Quebec.

With the close of the prolonged war against France in America, of which the Seven Years' War in Europe was really an incident so far as England was concerned, the English Colonies began to develop grievances and discover difficulties in their relations with the Motherland. Had a spirit of consideration prevailed on either hand, had the Mother-country known more of conditions in the Colonies, or had the latter felt the loyalty toward the Crown which the Colonies in another century have felt, the Revolution would never have taken place. But it is usually forgotten that the people of these regions were, with certain exceptions, not monarchical in their convictions, nor particularly kindly in sentiment toward the institutions of the Motherland.

THE CLASSES REMAINED LOYAL

The classes were so, and the classes remained loyal to the end, and became the bone and sinew of the English-speaking population of early Canada and Acadie. The masses, however, had originally been largely composed of emigrants who had left their country for various reasons of extreme discontent—such as the Quakers of Pennsylvania and the Puritans of New England—and had brought with them an innate republican spirit and a certain contempt for the forms of government under which they had admittedly suffered much. It only required the increased self-confidence of a pioneer life, and the friction of unpleasant controversies, to prove as tinder to the torch of agitation and as fire to the rumble of rebellion. Yet it must be said that, with all this ready material and with the now admitted grievances of the Colonists; with the Stamp Act and the taxation without representation question; with all the arrogance of British officers and the incapacity of British generals and statesmen; there was not, in 1775, a clear majority in favor of actual war. A strong minority was opposed to it, while another section may be classed as indifferent; and there were many times, even after the Declaration of Independence, when skilled statecraft and good generalship combined on the part of the British might have turned the rebels into a really small minority of the population. But many of the latter had strong convictions, a great leader in the person of Washington, and all the influences of such fire-brand oratory as that of Patrick Henry, the slave-holder of the South, when he cried to the heavens above him: "Give me liberty or give me death!"

However, the Revolution came, and with it results of the most important character to the great Province of Quebec, which had been recently expanded and reorganized by the Quebec Act of 1774. By this measure the limits of the Province had been extended to cover French settlers and settlements along the shores of the Great Lakes, between

Lake Erie and the Ohio River, and from there and Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, as well as north to the Red River and Lake Winnipeg in the present Province of Manitoba. This policy provoked strong protests from the now disaffected English Colonies, as did that part of the Act which provided for freedom of worship among the French-Canadian Catholics. By no means the smallest of the grievances alleged by the Continental Congress of 1774 was this establishment of a Roman Catholic Province to the north and its extension southward.

The extreme Protestantism of New England was up in arms, and the resentful rivalry resulting from a century of fitful war with the French along the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes was stirred into a storm which found expression in the course of an Address to the people of England passed by the Congress at Philadelphia on September 5, 1774. After references to the arbitrary rule from which the French Canadians were said to suffer—and which was absolute licence in comparison to the liberty accorded them by France—the protest read as follows: "Nor can we suppress our astonishment that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country a religion that has deluged your island with blood and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion through every part of the world."

It was natural, therefore, in view of hereditary hostility and religious antagonism, that the call to arms in the following year should have found the French of both Quebec and Acadie indifferent to the issue. The new Continental Congress did its best to counteract the effect of the preceding religious denunciations, and printed an appeal to the people of Quebec to join with them in opposing British "tyranny" and in establishing the principles of true liberty throughout the continent. This document and other inflammatory literature was translated into French and largely circulated among the *habitants;* just as every species of revolutionary argument, and the anti-British ebullitions of unscrupulous demagogues, like Thomas Paine, had been permitted free

and practically unanswered circulation throughout the Thirteen Colonies.

WASHINGTON APPEALS TO FRENCH CANADIANS

On September 25, 1775, George Washington signed and issued a special appeal to the French Canadians based upon similar lines of thought to that of Congress. This document, which seems in historic retrospect to have been unworthy of the usually dignified democracy of the American leader, dwelt upon the struggles of "the free-born sons of America"; the blessings of liberty and wretchedness of slavery; the "poverty of soul and baseness of spirit" in those who would oppose what had not yet risen out of the sphere of rebellion into that of revolution; the "cruel and perfidious schemes which would deluge our frontiers with the blood of women and children"; the "tools of despotism" in England and "the slavery, corruption, and arbitrary dominion" which would follow if the Motherland of his own race should prevail in the coming struggle.

Such arguments need no critical consideration in these later days, but their continued iteration naturally had some effect upon Frenchmen who for centuries, at home and in the Colony, had been enemies of the England now so harshly denounced by her own sons. Fortunately, however, the Government of Quebec was in the hands of one of those men who fully deserve the designation of great, and who prove the possession of characteristics and abilities which long-after generations mark with appreciation and admiration. Had General Sir Guy Carleton been given a free hand in the English Colonies he would probably have averted the arbitrament of war. Had he been given command in place of Sir William Howe he would in all human probability have suppressed the rebellion and captured Washington in the winter of his discontentment and wretchedness at Valley Forge. But destiny had other ends in view, and this was not to be. Even as it was, Carleton found himself hampered from time to time by the constant unfriendliness of the incapable Colo-

nial Secretary — Lord George Germaine, afterward Lord Sackville—and was eventually succeeded for a brief period by the showy and unfortunate Burgoyne. From 1768 to 1778, however, he was Governor-General, and in command of a few troops maintained in Quebec.* To his energy and capability during this period is due the fact that Canada is to-day a country in itself and its people a British nation. Surprising as it may seem, Carleton had only a few hundred regulars under his command when the discontent in the Thirteen Colonies had developed into denunciation and their riots into revolution. And, when he sent to Sir William Howe for help, in 1775, that officer was unable to forward troops because Admiral Graves would not supply the ships for transport—not an uncommon illustration of the mismanagement and incapacity which prevailed.

The Quebec Governor could depend upon little aid locally. The English settlers were a mere handful, and were naturally dissatisfied with the Quebec Act. The French Canadians were, at the best, neutral, and in many places threatened active hostility, owing to the false statements of alien agitators. Yet the first act of the latter, under successful conditions, would have been to abolish the French religious privileges and immunities of which the British Government had been the grantor and was now the guardian.

CARLETON SAVES THE COUNTRY TO ENGLAND

War had now come again upon the continent which had seen so much of strife, and this time it was a struggle which should never have occurred. George III and his Parliament had drifted from the mere assertion of a right to tax the Colonists into an attempt to enforce that right, and the attempt was made without vigor, without knowledge, without continuity of effort, without organization. The Colonists, themselves, had drifted out of discontented dependence upon Great Britain into a shadowy alliance and thence into prac-

* New France became officially the Province of Quebec in 1763, and after the division of 1791 became known as Lower Canada.

tical independence. It was not the Colonial independence of to-day, based upon loyalty as well as liberty, and which seeks for means of closer union with the Motherland, but it was an independence founded upon suspicion, regarding Imperial unity as subjection and British institutions as a form of tyranny. Canada, or the northern British possessions, had also been compelled to drift along without adequate forces for defence, and only in Carleton's Quebec Act, in his policy of conciliating the French, and in his strenuous efforts to obtain more troops, had any statecraft been shown. Then the fight at Lexington took place, on April 19, 1775, that of Bunker Hill occurred two months later, the capture by Ethan Allen of the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point followed, and out of the general policy of drift had come the usual result of disaster.

The opening of the historic warpath into Quebec commenced in the fall of the forts just mentioned; it was followed with the invasion of that country by General Montgomery at the head of 3,000 men and Colonel Benedict Arnold with 1,200 more. The advance was, at first, eminently successful, and the American troops forced their way across the Richelieu, took St. John's and Chambly, and compelled the Governor-General, with his small armed force, to leave Montreal at their mercy, and to retreat upon Quebec. There he displayed consummate skill, weeded out and expelled the rebel sympathizers, enrolled several hundred loyal volunteers, and, finally, with 1,600 men-at-arms, awaited the American assault. Meantime, from different directions and through wintry wilds and varied difficulties, Montgomery and Arnold converged upon Quebec, where, toward the end of November, they demanded the surrender of the city, which was now the last spot in the Province where waved the British flag. But to this and other communications no reply was given. General Carleton had old-fashioned principles, and would have no intercourse whatever with men whom he considered rebels and nothing more. The invaders were greatly disappointed. They had not been able to obtain the active support of more

than a handful of the French Canadians, while, by the payment of worthless paper money for supplies and a general indifference to the religious convictions of the populace, they had estranged most of the sympathy previously gained. Even General Washington's appeal to them as "friends and brethren" had by now failed of its effect. The French settlers, after all, had had enough of fighting, and neither appeals to love of liberty or to racial antagonism on the one hand, nor pressure by Clergy and Seigneurs on the other, would stir them from a practically general neutrality.

The intense cold of a Quebec winter was also added to the difficulties of the American commander, as well as the certain prospect of a British relief fleet arriving in the spring. Choosing the speediest apparent solution of an evil situation, a desperate assault was decided upon, and, amid the thick darkness of a stormy night, on the 31st of December, 1775, the American troops attacked the frowning ramparts in two distinct columns. The force under Arnold fought its way into the city, but was ultimately driven back, and 400 out of its 700 men were captured. Montgomery's troops were met by a deadly fire, and the General himself was killed while leading his men to the assault. The latter, it may be added, has been much praised as an officer and a man, and his death naturally inclines history to look favorably upon his memory. But a soldier, who, like Carleton himself, had served under Wolfe in other days, should have known better than attempt such a deed, brave as it undoubtedly was, and, as a man of presumed humanity, he should certainly have hesitated long before issuing a general order on December 15th, promising his soldiers the plunder of the city in the following words: "The troops shall have the effects of the Governor, garrison, and of such as have been acting in misleading the inhabitants and distressing the friends of Liberty, to be equally divided among them."

After this repulse, the enemy simply maintained a strict blockade until they were greatly cheered by the arrival of reinforcements in the spring. Almost simultaneously, however,

British ships arrived in the St. Lawrence, and the Americans were forced to prepare for retreat. In this movement Carleton followed them, captured their guns, and finally turned the retreat into a flight and utter rout. Shortly afterward a small body of British regulars and Indians captured "The Cedars," a fort on the St. Lawrence, and, in June, an American attack upon Three Rivers was repulsed by a small force of militia and regular troops. Meanwhile, however, three Commissioners had been despatched by Congress on April 27, 1776, to try and counteract the exertions of Carleton among the people and to increase the hoped-for efficacy of Washington's Address. The duty intrusted to them was that of conciliating the French Canadians, and for this purpose their personnel was certainly good. Benjamin Franklin, the most astute of American diplomatists, Chase, of Maryland, and Charles Carroll, a well-known Roman Catholic, made an excellent Commission. For a time they remained in Montreal, and then, for their own safety, had to return home. British soldiers were now pouring into the Province, Montreal was evacuated, and soon the invaders were driven to the shores of Lake Champlain, where, through the possession of a small fleet, they managed to hold their own until the autumn of 1776. Meantime, the British had also built a fleet, and, after a hot fight, the American, or Continental, forces, were driven from the lake and the ramparts of Crown Point blown up in their retreat. The inland gates of Quebec were thus once more in the strong hands of Carleton.

PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION

In New York, New England, and elsewhere, the war continued to drag its weary and bitter course for years after this fruitless invasion. The hollowness of the claim made by many public men in the revolted Colonies that they only desired the right to rule themselves, under the Crown, had been shown in this aggressive campaign against Quebec, and it received a final seal and proof in the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776. Meanwhile, the British troops outside of

Carleton's sphere of operations had been doing little except to hold New York. A vigorous military policy in 1775 might have averted actual war by overawing the riotous, encouraging the loyal, and forcing into consistent allegiance many who affected to favor union while really working for separation. General Gage, who was in command of the troops, seems, however, to have been undecided and incapable to the point of a practical abdication of British authority. In May, 1776, Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne arrived on the scene with reinforcements, and the first-named took command. Sir William Howe was a brave but self-indulgent, frivolous, and incapable officer. During the year which followed his arrival and as a result of circumstances which made things comparatively easy, he won possession of all New York and New Jersey, defeated Washington at the Brandywine, and captured Philadelphia.

Here the ball was at his feet. He had already made serious mistakes and delays which were deeply injurious to the Royal cause. But activity now might have been the fullest amends and have crushed the rebellion before the Burgoyne disaster strengthened the American spirit and the arrival of French troops added to the American military force. Washington, during this winter of 1776-7, was almost in despair. His small army was intrenched at Valley Forge in a fairly strong position, but one which Howe with his superior force and more disciplined troops might have successfully stormed, or else surrounded and starved the defenders into submission. There was no army to relieve them or to draw the British general away. The prestige of the revolution was gone, the mass of the people was sick of civil strife, the situation was so gloomy that even while Howe was idling away the weeks and months at Philadelphia, Washington could get neither money, men, nor supplies. One brilliant stroke might have settled the issue so far as force of arms could do it, and time, with its possibilities of reviving statecraft and a more conciliatory spirit, might perhaps have done the rest. But, instead of changing the destiny of empires and states, Howe

preferred to spend this winter of vital opportunities and vast possibilities in the varied amusements of a gay military city.

Meantime, the tide had turned forever. Burgoyne, by favor of the unspeakable Germaine, was sent to indirectly supersede Sir Guy Carleton by leading an army of 8,000 men, despite the wise protests of the latter, from Lake Champlain down the Hudson to New York. It is not necessary to tell here the story of the disastrous march which was ushered in by apparent successes such as the capture of Ticonderoga and the defeat of one opposing army. Suffice it to say that the further Burgoyne penetrated into the enemy's country the more of them he had to encounter, until, finally, surrounded at Saratoga by 30,000 Continental troops, his own small and depleted force was compelled to surrender. He had sworn in his vanity that British soldiers never retreat. History declares that his misplaced obstinacy, combined with Howe's inaction, ruined the Royal cause and crowned with success the republican armies and their able leaders. Immediately upon hearing of this surrender and the evidence it afforded of possible American success, the Court of France accepted the overtures which Franklin had been long pressing, and not only recognized the independence of the United States, but formed an alliance with its provisional Government and prepared for the war with Great Britain which necessarily followed. Spain shortly afterward joined the fray by a declaration of war. Holland followed suit, owing to some commercial dispute, and the hour of the American Republic had come at last.

In Canada, during the preceding period, Carleton had been firmly and faithfully holding his own. Many things had occurred which to his proud and confident spirit must have been more than painful, and it is not improbable that his recall in June, 1778, was in some sense a pleasure to him. Service under such a man as Germaine was galling beyond comparison to a Governor who was by nature both statesman and general. On October 28th of the same year, and before

France had really plunged into the fray, the Baron D'Estaing, Commander of the French fleet in Atlantic waters, issued an appeal to the French Canadians which touched their most secret sensibilities, and might, under other conditions than those created by the Quebec Act and Carleton's administration, have had a most important effect. As it was no great harm was done. In this document, after addressing the people as "military companions of the Marquis de Lévis," and describing them as having shared his glories and admired his genius for war, the French Admiral went on to ask them whether they could now fight against their former leaders and arm themselves against their own kinsmen. And he concluded a strong racial appeal by declaring, in the name of the King of France, "that all his former subjects in North America who shall no more acknowledge the supremacy of Great Britain may depend upon his protection and support."

All these serious developments in Europe and America did not, however, disturb the pleasures and ostentatious gayeties of the supine Howe, and he idled on at Philadelphia until the spring came, and then suddenly resigned his post and returned to England. Sir Henry Clinton, a man of ability and energy, succeeded to the command, and was at once ordered to evacuate the Quaker City. The time for really vital action had passed, Washington had once more got his troops into shape, and the assistance of France had changed the whole face of affairs and the spirit of the people. Clinton, however, pushed the war with such vigor as was possible and seized Charleston, while Lord Cornwallis overran the Carolinas and Georgia, and, by 1781, had much of the South under control.

Then came the great disaster at Yorktown. It was the result of French support to the Revolution, and, incidentally, was occasioned by the most miserable exhibition of incapacity seen even during this war. The evil genius of the military arm of Britain had been Howe, and the evil genius of the naval arm was, in this case, the incapable Admiral Graves. The former had allowed Washington to slip from

his grasp at Valley Forge; the latter allowed the French fleet to slip in and take Cornwallis in the rear at Yorktown. On the 17th of October, 1781, after fighting against impossible numbers for two weeks, he was obliged to surrender.

This practically ended the war. Lord George Germaine resigned his place in the Ministry at home after doing all the evil possible; Cornwallis returned to England and afterward distinguished himself as Governor-General of India; Clinton retired from the chief command in America and died in 1795 as Governor of Gibraltar; Sir Guy Carleton was sent out as Commander-in-Chief to supervise the evacuation of New York and to stamp upon the pages of history by that act a failure which might have been success had he sooner wielded the supreme power.

THE TREATY OF PEACE

On September 3, 1783, after prolonged negotiations at the Court of France, in which the British plenipotentiaries won the deserved condemnation of all students of diplomacy by their weak-kneed attitude of surrender and indifference, the Treaty of Versailles was duly signed. John Adams, Franklin, and John Jay represented the United States, and their combined ability was enough for the most astute of the world's statesmen to have met successfully. As it was they had only to play with a puppet on the splendid page of diplomacy named Oswald—a weak, vain, ignorant man, without knowledge of American affairs, and, judging by his correspondence with Lord Shelburne, the Prime Minister, without care as to the maintenance of British honor toward the Loyalists in the war, or of British territorial interests of any kind, so long as a treaty of peace was signed. His later colleague, Vaughan, was as bad as himself, and their successor, Strathy, came only in time to save Quebec and Acadie from being given away. King George's opposition to the terms of this Treaty and his sharp reproofs to Oswald should win the old monarch something of modern Canadian sympathy and appreciation.

Great Britain was not at this time by any means a wreck in either resources or public spirit. The union of the Powers against her had revived the national sentiment, and, had a stern and vigorous statesman been at the head of affairs, the final result of the struggle might have been very different, and certainly would have been so, as far as the boundaries of the new Republic were concerned. Her leaders, however, had decided for peace and they went into the negotiations in no huxtering spirit and with an evident hope of winning back American friendship by open-handed generosity. Franklin wanted the entire continent to be given up to the Thirteen Colonies and especially demanded the handing over of Quebec and its ill-defined territories. But this was too much even for Lord Shelburne, though Oswald declared himself quite willing and actually stated that he would use his influence to persuade his own Government to concede the claims of the American plenipotentiaries. Eventually, the whole of the rich Ohio Valley and the southern part of what was then called Quebec was handed over as a gift to the Republic and has since been carved into a number of the most prosperous States of the American Union—Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. On the east the fatal blunder was made of defining the boundary as the St. Croix River and thus inserting a wedge of alien territory between the present Provinces of Quebec and Nova Scotia and depriving the Dominion of a winter seaport through the later concessions of Lord Ashburton—a worthy successor to Oswald and Vaughan.

For a time peace now reigned, though it was a peace marred by bitter feeling in the States and by memories of sorrow and suffering among the Loyalists who had migrated to the British country which still remained at the north. Looking back now it is not hard to make excuses for the statesmen (as distinct from the diplomats) who threw so much of valuable territory away in order to please and placate a sentiment which even yet they did not understand—a disruption the completeness and finality of which their successors had hardly

grasped a hundred years afterward. Nor is it difficult to see that the value of these regions was very little to the England of that day, and, except from the sentimental standpoint of the Sovereign, hardly worth the tremendous liabilities which had been incurred and the blood which had been shed. Very few men, great or little, are able to look a century ahead. Nor is it impossible, even while regretting the result for Canada's sake, to understand the feeling of many outside the United States who think that this gift of territory, and some of the later developments of the Republic along military lines, was all for the best.

The die was cast, however, and henceforth the history of the growing Republic and the future commonwealth, though running side by side in a geographical sense, is entirely diverse in the evolution of institutions, in the creations of constructive statesmanship, and in popular sympathies. The story of that development to the south of the boundary line has a greater place in the world's canvas of events, or literature, but that to the north has also possessed much of interest, much of instruction, much of political shadow, much of national success.

CHAPTER VII

THE LOYALIST PIONEERS

THE United Empire Loyalists represent in continental annals the history of a lost cause and the foundation of a new commonwealth. In the former capacity popular ignominy has very largely been their lot in the pages of American history and sometimes at the undeserved hands of British publicists. In the latter capacity they have become enshrined in the records of self-sacrifice and toil and suffering which have gone into the making of Canada as they must go into the creation of anything worth having in this complex world of ours.

THE PLACE HELD BY THE AMERICAN LOYALISTS

Yet to the impartial student of history, of the workings of national sentiment, of the hidden springs which mold the character and control the action of individuals at a great public crisis, the place held by the American Loyalists was as honorable and consistent in their own country as it afterward became in the British land to the north. To understand their later position, as well as their migration, a few words must be said here regarding the cardinal principles which actuated their conduct and stamped their character.

They were sincerely loyal to the King. The end of the eighteenth century was still a monarchical age and the Sovereign was to the great mass of his subjects still an object of personal allegiance—even in a certain limited sense to the republican-minded Puritan. He had not become, and no one as yet dreamed of his becoming, a constitutional ruler in the modern sense; an embodiment of the State and a sort of incarnation of the popular will. Even to-day, in the British Empire, it is a question if the factor of personal loyalty is not powerful enough to hold the Sovereign in his place should he choose to take what might be termed an arbitrary course. A century ago it was a matter of duty, of patriotism, to myriads of the King's subjects to condone actions which they disapproved at heart because of this sentiment which surrounded the throne of the realm and environed the royal person with something more than mere respect.

PRINCIPLES, TRADITIONS, AND GENERAL POSITIONS

The spirit of the Cavaliers and soldiers, the gentry and the peasants, who alike rallied around the amiable weaknesses of Charles I, and the virtues and vices of Charles II, was still abroad in the American land and found its place amid the gentry of Virginia as it did among some of the sturdy sons of New England. To these men, and it must be remembered they were in the majority when the Revolution began, the name of the King still embodied fealty to the

State as it certainly required loyalty to the flag and institutions of their fathers. In itself this loyalty was an admirable quality and one which proved its inherent strength in the privations and sufferings which came to those who held it;

> "They counted neither cost nor danger, spurned
> Defections, treasons, spoils; but feared God,
> Nor shamed of their allegiance to the King."

Nor was King George and his cause altogether unworthy of this sentiment—apart from the principle of personal loyalty. There was enough of greatness in the character of American leaders at this time, of justification in the complaints of Colonial politicians and the people, of excuse in the mistakes and ignorance of British administrators, to make it a matter of surprise that there has not been more magnanimity shown by the writers and speakers of the Republic to the honesty of purpose and purity of principle shown by this much-troubled monarch. It was the misfortune of George III that he represented a system of administration which the Thirteen Colonies had outgrown; that he and his advisers had no precedents in Colonial self-government to guide them; that his Ministers were often narrow and not very able men, and the one in charge of Colonial affairs—Lord George Germaine—the most criminally incompetent, vain, and selfish personage who ever held power at a critical juncture; that the Liberal leaders of the time were seriously open to suspicion, and Charles James Fox, at least, an acknowledged ally of the French enemies of England; that the King's own periods of mental blindness made a continuous and efficient policy very difficult.

Personally, these complications—to say nothing of a wild and wicked son who sought only means of hurting the King in heart and reputation—appear to deserve some sympathy rather than unstinted condemnation. It was to the King's credit, also, that he never swerved in his desire and intention to hold the Empire intact—as it was his bounden duty to do; that in this policy his Parliament, by a great majority, was with him; that the mass of the English people

was devoted to him and those who knew him best were among his warmest admirers; that when he wrote to Lord North on June 13, 1781, "We have the greatest objects to make us zealous in our pursuit, for we are contending for our whole consequence, whether we are to rank among the great Powers or be reduced to one of the least considerable," he voiced the sentiment of every ruler who feels the sense of duty to his country and people; that though he naturally did not understand, any more than did the Colonists themselves, the modern principle of constitutional Parliaments in distant countries administered by a representative of the Crown, he yet was willing to offer seats in the Imperial Parliament to Colonial delegates and to repeal the not altogether unjust Stamp Act as soon as he found that the people would not submit to even that measure of taxation in return for the immense indebtedness incurred by England in their defence against France.

When we look closely and calmly at this picture of the King struggling against incompetent Ministers and politicians who cared more for parties than for empire, facing unavoidable periods of personal aberration, battling with foreign enemies who soon included France and Spain and Holland, as well as the revolted Colonies, it is impossible not to feel that George III, with all his mistakes and limited abilities, was as truly patriotic in his opposition to the Revolution as Lincoln was in his antagonism to a later Rebellion. History, when separated from the influences of national and perhaps natural hostility, will eventually throw a chaplet of credit upon the memory of the monarch who lived so sad a life and fought a losing struggle in the spirit of his letter to Lord North on November 3, 1781: "I feel the justice of our cause; I put the greatest confidence in the valor of our army and navy, and, above all, in the assistance of Divine Providence."

At the same time these considerations naturally did not commend themselves very strongly to men of democratic character who had been molded in the melting-pot of war and privation and pioneer labor—to say nothing of hereditary affilia-

tion in many cases to the Roundheads and Republicans of a preceding period in England. They chafed against commercial restrictions and the bonds of the Navigation Laws; against the not infrequent insults of a rough soldiery and supercilious officers; against the attempts to prevent smuggling and to collect taxes at the end of the bayonet. That a large minority finally revolted against all the complications arising out of this ignorant attempt of a free Parliament and its King to govern a free people three thousand miles away is not altogether to be wondered at. The British authorities were without the machinery of suitable administration which might have made their effort at government successful, without the knowledge of local conditions which might have brought the distant Sovereign and his Ministers into touch with the Colonial masses, without a capacity on the part of the King himself to select wise Governors and able commanders of the forces. The mistake of King George and the one for which he must stand condemned at the bar of history was his choice of subordinates and his refusal to follow at an early period the advice of Pitt. There is absolutely no excuse for the placing of Lord George Germaine in charge of Colonial affairs, or for the appointment of such officers as Graves and Howe and Burgoyne, and others who were placed in responsible positions in the Colonies from time to time.

POSITION OF THE LOYALISTS

The cause of the Loyalists was based, however, upon more than loyalty to their King and their home country. It was at first the product of political opinions to which they would seem to have had every right in a free land. If the agitators had the inborn privilege of supporting constitutional change and of urging action which the Tories of the time believed would overthrow all that they held most worthy of allegiance and regard, certainly the latter had also the right to oppose such proposals. If that right of opposition belonged to them at a time when Washington and Franklin, Jefferson, Jay, and Madison were all declaiming against the possibility of sepa-

ration from the Motherland coming as a result of their agitation, how much more was it theirs when rebellion came to a head and independence was proclaimed? With the feeling which they possessed resistance to rebellion became a sacred duty, and was certainly as much a matter of principle as was the struggle of the Continental troops for what they believed to be "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

But, as so often happens in history, might in the end became right; loyalty to the King became disloyalty to the new state which had risen out of the cramped Colonial conditions of the preceding time; failure to hold the country for England resulted in failure to hold anything for themselves. Yet the Loyalists put up a good fight for the faith that was in them. The British Legion, the Royal Fencible Americans, the Queen's Rangers, the New York Volunteers, the King's American Regiments, the Prince of Wales' American Volunteers, the Maryland Loyalists, De Lancey's Battalion, the Second American Regiment, the King's Rangers, the South Carolina Royalists, the North Carolina Highland Regiment, the King's American Dragoons, the Loyal American Regiment, the American Legion, the Loyal Foresters, the Orange Rangers, the Pennsylvania Loyalists, the Guides and Pioneers, the North Carolina Volunteers, the Georgia Loyalists, the West Chester Volunteers, were among the Colonial regiments fighting on the King's side.

When the war was over they suffered confiscation of property, as in many cases during the struggle and before actually taking up arms, they had suffered indignity and outrage at the hands of that portion of a people which all wars let loose, and which, in this case, was unfortunately too often encouraged by political leaders with other ends than those of patriotism in view. Apart from this aggressive element in the loyal part of the population there were numbers of peaceful and unoffending citizens who simply desired to maintain the law as it stood and to remain neutral in the strife around them. They were not of a type to be specially admired, but they suffered abundantly for their mistaken view of the situation.

To drift and hesitate in days of rebellion is to invite danger and court destruction. Many of these people, as well as of the acknowledged Loyalists, were tarred and feathered, their property destroyed or taken from them, their dues in debts, or rents, or interest repudiated, their houses burned. Much of this occurred before the civil war actually commenced. After 1775, every form of penalty was imposed—death, or confiscation, or imprisonment—upon those who refused to support the republican cause. On both sides, as feeling grew more bitter, the treatment of the non-combatants became more cruel, and, naturally, the Loyalist element suffered the most. How intense was the feeling of their opponents may be judged by the declaration of John Adams, afterward President of the United States, that he would have hanged his own brother had he taken the British part in the contest. When the Treaty of Versailles was being negotiated efforts were made to obtain adequate guarantees for the future safety of those who had adhered to the defeated side and the following words found a place on paper:

"It is agreed that the Congress shall urgently recommend it to the Legislatures of the various States to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects and also of the estates, rights and properties of persons resident in districts in the possession of His Majesty's arms, and who have not borne arms against the said United States . . . and that Congress should also earnestly recommend to the several States a reconsideration and revision of all acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent, not only with justice and equity, but with the spirit of conciliation which, on the return of the blessings of peace, should universally prevail."

It is the barest statement of historic fact to say that no serious effort was ever made to carry out this agreement. Persecution of various kinds was rampant, thousands were driven out of the country, and were happy to escape with their lives; while, on May 12, 1784, the Legislature of New York passed an Act which recapitulated every possible way in which a Loyalist could have taken part in the war and enacted that all such found within the State should be adjudged guilty of misprision of high treason. Meantime, Sir

Guy Carleton was at New York, and before he evacuated the place finally did everything possible to transport the suffering Loyalists to British territory. Sir Frederick Haldimand, Governor of Quebec, and John Parr, of Nova Scotia, did their best to receive and settle them on the vast vacant lands of the future Dominion. They came flocking in thousands to the Northern land where still floated the flag they loved so well—in ships and in boats, in covered wagons or on foot—until there were eventually some 4,500 settled along the shores of the St. Lawrence, 28,000 in the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia of the future, a few in Prince Edward Island, some thousands in the present Eastern Townships of Quebec, and probably 10,000 in the Ontario of to-day. They came without money, with little food, and few resources, with no experience in agriculture, and but small knowledge of the enormous hardships which they would have to face.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LOYALIST MIGRATION

This migration is one of the most interesting and striking facts of history. It was not the exodus of some great horde of people unable to earn their living in a European country, ignorant, uncultured, unprepared for the responsibilities of political life and action. It was a movement at least as significant as that of the Pilgrim Fathers. It differed from the latter in being the transfer of what may be termed, for want of a better designation, the prosperous upper class of the American community to a country which was a veritable wilderness. Both movements were made for conscience' sake; but one was largely religious, the other essentially political, or patriotic. It has been said that the Loyalists brought to the making of Canada the choicest stock the Thirteen Colonies could boast. They certainly did contribute an army of leaders, for it was the loftiest heads which attracted the attention of the Sons of Liberty, of the Legislatures, and of those influenced by the very opposite motives of cupidity and an honest desire to purge the young Republic of all dangerous elements.

As among the Cavaliers of England, and, indeed, in almost all instances of civil strife in all countries, it was the most influential Judges, the most distinguished lawyers, the most highly educated of the clergy, the Members of Council in the various Colonies, the Crown officials, the people of culture and social position, who, in this case, stood by the Crown. There were many notable exceptions, but not more than enough to prove the rule. In this connection Professor Hosmer in his "Life of Henry Adams," has truly said that "the Tories were generally people of substance, their stake in the country was even greater than that of their opponents, their patriotism was no doubt to the full as fervent. The estates of the Tories were among the fairest, their stately mansions stood upon the sightliest hill-brows, the richest and best-tilled meadows were their farms."

Of course, they were not all of this class, nor did all the hundred thousand refugees of that gloomy time come to the British Provinces. As with the Huguenots of France, over a hundred years before, they scattered over all countries—many to Great Britain or the West Indies. Among the Judges and legislators, the clergymen and merchants, who poured out of the ports and over the frontiers of the Republic there were also large numbers of regular soldiers as well as of Loyalist volunteers, many yeomen or farmers, many handicraftsmen or mechanics. All divisions of religious faith were there. Numbers of Church of England people settled in Upper Canada under the ministrations of Dr. John Stuart. Here came also the enthusiastic and faithful John Ashbury and the famous pioneer of Canadian Methodism, Barbara Heck, who led a band of loyal Methodists to the shores of the Bay of Quinte. To the district of Glengarry, in Upper Canada, came a large and gallant body of Scotch Catholics, led by their priests, and destined to take no small part in the making of Ontario. To the same Province, a little later, migrated many of the peaceful Quakers and Mennonites of Pennsylvania. To the banks of the Thames came large numbers of the Mohawk Indians under the leadership of Joseph Brant

—loyal survivors of the famous Six Nations. Such were the people, in a general sense, who poured into the northern British Provinces to found and establish a new British state.

Of course, the migration did not pass without comment, or action, in England. The infraction of the spirit and intent of the Treaty of 1783, and the weakness of the Shelburne Government in accepting its vague pledges as sufficient protection, provoked angry debates in Parliament and forced the resignation of the Ministry. As Lord North well said in the House: "What were not the claims of those who, in conformity to their allegiance, their cheerful obedience to the voice of Parliament, and their confidence in the proclamations of our Generals, espoused with the hazard of their lives and the forfeiture of their properties the cause of Great Britain?" It was eventually decided to indemnify the Loyalists for actual losses, and a Royal Commission for this purpose was established in 1783, which, in the course of seven years, investigated 2,291 claims and paid out to the sufferers £3,886,087 sterling, or nearly $19,000,000. Large grants of land in all the Provinces were also given to them, and, in 1789, the title or affix of "U. E. L." was granted by the Crown as a special honor to be borne by every United Empire Loyalist and his or her descendant. Tools, implements, and supplies of food were also issued from time to time.

HARDSHIPS OF PIONEER LIFE

The chief centres of these settlements were certain parts of Upper Canada, as the great and wild country to the immediate west of French Canadian Quebec was beginning to be called, the Eastern Townships of the present Province of Quebec, and the latter-day Province of New Brunswick. The other Maritime Provinces received a considerable number also. To a great extent the experience of one family, or of one group of settlers, was the experience of all. Log-cabins, built in the wilderness, with a single room and a single window, were their homes; coarse garments spun from flax or hemp, or made from the hides of animals, were their cloth-

ing—intermixed on rare occasions with the silks and laces and ruffles and gorgeous colors which had perhaps flaunted in a colonial court, or graced the drawing-rooms of a colonial mansion; furniture was made from the roughest of wood by the unskilful axe of the pioneer; the task of procuring enough of Indian corn and wild rice to eat, or the staving off of actual starvation, was for some time the principal occupation. Around them were the wild animals of forest life—wolves and bears and lynxes. In winter time there was always bitter suffering from a cold which then knew little cessation and from a snow and ice which seemed limitless in quantity and paralyzing to their energies. The latter condition also isolated their dwellings until horses and sleighs came, in better days, to help them bear this ordeal of life in the wilderness. Yet they were not absolutely unhappy. They felt deeply and fervently the principles which had driven them into the wilds, and, from many a log hut dimly lit by the blaze of a smoky fire came the evening hymn of "God Save the King," and the sound of the clear-voiced hope that their privations and labors might end in the building up of a greater and better commonwealth than the one they had left:

"A vast Dominion stretched from sea to sea,
A land of labor but of sure reward,
A land of corn to feed the world withal,
A land of life's best treasures, plenty, peace,
Content and freedom, both to speak and do,
A land of men, to rule with sober hand,
As loyal as were their fathers and as free." *

So far as possible they had settled in groups and helped each other with the early and arduous tasks of clearing the forest and chopping the timber into logs—with axes ill-suited for the work and with results not much better suited for the rough and ready cabins which they had to build for shelter. During many years there were no villages, or shops, or newspapers, or roads, or churches, or schools, or any other conveniences of the cultivated civilization to which they had been

* Lines by William Kirby, of Niagara.

accustomed. Those of them who might have gone into other occupations than planting and reaping grain, or clearing timber, and who knew something of industrial labor and the work which might have brought various comforts to the pioneers, were kept from doing so by the hard necessity of obtaining food from the soil. The original condition of humanity, the still savage conception of life in many countries, was here illustrated in its crudest form; and the stern necessity of existence was to obtain sufficient food during the summer to last through the long, cruel winter. As it was, famine came to Upper Canada in 1787-88, and severe hunger was added to the hardships of cold and the dangers of wild animal life around the settlers. Cornmeal was served out in spoonfuls, millet seed became a substitute for wheat flour, wheat bran was greatly valued, ground nuts were sought for and eaten, boiled oats and even bark and birch leaves were acceptable. Game and fish when caught, which was not very frequently, had to be eaten without salt, and tea and sugar were unknown for years—until the latter was replaced by maple sugar and syrup.

This season, however, was the climax of privation and trouble. Progress, thereafter, was sure and steady. More settlers came in, and, as time passed, included a large number of what were called "later Loyalists"—Americans who were loyal at heart but had managed to keep from being publicly obnoxious to the Continentalists. They now took advantage of various openings and came across the frontier in huge caravans, with their families and flocks and home comforts. From 1792 to 1796 Lieutenant-Governor J. Graves Simcoe, of Upper Canada, encouraged this species of immigrant, gave new settlers large grants and did everything to encourage a still greater influx of population. Gradually the increasing migration had its effect upon the isolation of the pioneers and the absence of comforts in their homes. More varied occupations became possible. Carpenters and painters, shoemakers and millwrights, started their industries. Better houses were erected, mills became more and more numerous,

small general shops were opened and supplied with goods, over hundreds of miles of waterway, from Quebec, while, above all, military roads were established under guidance of the energetic and far-seeing Simcoe and branched out from his village capital at York (Toronto) in various directions.

Cattle and horses were once more to be obtained and the sleigh-bells of the settlers were heard in winter ringing through the silent forest as they passed from one cottage to another. Log schoolhouses arose, here and there, with miserable little urchins perched on high seats without a back and with their legs dangling in mid-air, while receiving instruction from the crudest and rudest type of the traveling teacher. The process of progress was necessarily slow, but it was now sure. As the years passed on to the period, in 1812-15, when their courage and loyalty were to be again tested, many of the Loyalist gentry had reached a position of comparative comfort once more; most of the poorer classes were able to live without actual privation. But there was no wealth or luxury, no development of artistic tastes and culture, except in the very simplest of forms.

Meanwhile, in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, in Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton, the Loyalists had come and taken possession. There were some slight differences in the nature of their settlements and those of Upper Canada. They seem to have stayed more together, to have avoided something of the painful isolation of their brother Colonists, to have benefited by their proximity to the seacoast and to England, to have suffered less from cold and to have largely avoided the horrors of starvation. There were, of course, exceptions, such as the record of the first eight hundred settlers in Cape Breton reveals. Towns grew apace, and the whole life of these Provinces became influenced in the most overwhelming manner by the influx of the Loyalists. New Brunswick received its type and character from them entirely, while Nova Scotia, though an old and historic region with a considerable Acadian population and the advantage of having preserved the military centre of Halifax during a hundred and fifty

years, was largely affected. In the Eastern Townships of Quebec the Loyalists found local conditions more distasteful than distant hardships, and, disliking the absence of constitutional rule, many migrated again into Upper Canada and joined their brethren in the great Lake country.

To all the Provinces these American refugees carried their views of government; intense feelings of loyalty which had been bred into their very bones by persecution and exile; strong belief in monarchy as the best and truest form of government; a love of country which grew with the hardships endured so patiently; a feeling that they had the right to control and guide, in days to come, the destinies, the affairs, the policy of the Provinces they were founding and maintaining through stress and storm. Out of this natural sentiment came many complications in the future and much political turmoil. But that is another story.

CHAPTER VIII

EARLY CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

THE form of government in New France was at once autocratic and bureaucratic and ecclesiastical. The King interfered when he pleased, and changed or adjusted matters as he saw fit. The Governors were usually soldiers, and, in the face of constant danger from Iroquois or English, naturally ruled in an arbitrary manner, though often without that precision of plan and action which would have marked the able military administrator. Champlain and Frontenac, Denonville and Vaudreuil, constituted at times, however, the whole government of the Colony in their own persons.

SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN FRENCH CANADA

With the Governor-General was an Intendant who guided, more or less, the finances of the country and the matters of

administrative detail. When the Intendant was a strong man and the Governor a weak one, the former for good or ill controlled the State. Jean Talon, who filled the position in 1665-68, and for five years following 1670, was the creator of the constitution of New France—such as it was. A strong organizer, an honest administrator, he did as much good to the infant state as the last Intendant, the corrupt and crafty François Bigot, did harm. Intimately associated with these officials was the Bishop. At times he was the greatest of the three, and the most influential. Laval, St. Vallier, and Pontbriand wielded in their day a combined ecclesiastical and civil power in French Canada which was not dissimilar to the place held by the Princes of their Church in mediæval Europe.

In 1663, Louis XIV created what was at first called a Sovereign Council, and afterward the Supreme Council, as the governing body of his American possessions. It was composed of the Governor-General, who had charge of all military matters, the Bishop, who was supreme in all ecclesiastical concerns—and many which would now be termed civil ones—and the Intendant, who was President of the Council, with a casting vote and with complete control over police, trade, justice, and other departments of civil administration. With these practically supreme officials were associated six, and afterward twelve, Councilors, who were chosen from among the leading residents. Under this system, and up to the Conquest, the Government of the Colony fluctuated and merged into differing degrees of military administration, class supremacy, ecclesiastical control, and financial manipulation.

ESTABLISHMENT OF FRENCH MILITARY RULE

Its leading objects were the establishment of French military rule over as wide a space as possible between Hudson's Bay and the regions of the Ohio Valley and the Mississippi; the development of the fur trade, with profitable returns to the numerous French interests in that connection; the ex-

tension of religion to the Indians and the expansion of the power of the Church; the eventual hemming in of the English settlements upon the Atlantic by a background of French forts and military stations down through the heart of the continent. Constitutional machinery, in a popular sense, was not required for such objects, and, in fact, proved far from beneficial in this respect, and in even a restricted form, to the English Thirteen Colonies. The scattered local centres of the latter were governed in those days in a detached and haphazard way, and with a democratic freedom which was not conducive to united military action or concentrated policy.

Under early British administration the change in New France, or Quebec, as it was now termed, was very slight. From 1764 to 1774 the military influence was practically supreme, and the power possessed by Lord Amherst, General Murray, and Sir Guy Carleton was almost autocratic. In the latter year came the Quebec Act, and a general adjustment of the government to conditions which had developed among the French of the Lower Province and the new Loyalist settlers of the Upper Province as a result of the decade of British rule.

THE QUEBEC ACT

The origin of this important legislation was in the relations between the French majority in Quebec and the English minority, its evolution was in the mind and policy of Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester; its immediate result was the saving of British America to the Crown during the American Revolution; its ultimate consequence was the French Province of modern times with full liberty of laws, language, and religion. At the Conquest, and by the Treaty of Paris, these rights had been formally guaranteed in a religious sense to the 65,000 inhabitants of Quebec (who, by 1774, had increased to 150,000) in the declaration that "the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish Church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit,"

was to be allowed. In practice, also, the various religious Orders had been given full freedom of action and exemption from taxation. This generosity, however, was not altogether palatable to the small English population, while, on the other hand, the *habitants* did not understand the English Civil law, though willing enough to accept English Criminal law. The result of a not very aggressive effort to substitute the laws of the conqueror for those of the conquered had been dissatisfaction and a great deal of confusion.

As the years passed on, too, the menacing storm-cloud of trouble in the Thirteen Colonies grew dark, and it became eminently desirable to conciliate the French Canadians and correct every possible grievance. The territory which was administered at this time, under the general designation of Quebec, was considerably different from that of later days, and was greatly restricted in extent—although it became enlarged beyond recognition by the Quebec Act itself. By the King's Proclamation of 1763, Governor Murray had been authorized to "summon and call general Assemblies of the freeholders and planters" as soon as the "situation and circumstances" of the new Province would permit. Naturally and properly he was in no hurry to introduce the apple of political discord and the difficulties of an elective system among people imbued with French autocratic habits of government and utterly ignorant of British ideas and principles. He was also occupied with the more immediately important work of arranging the judicial and administrative functions of the new Government.

With the coming of Carleton, in 1768, a new constitutional stage in affairs was developed, and conditions already indicated demanded the attention of a man who is one of the heroic characters of Canadian history. His policy during this period included the enlargement of the area of Quebec so as to bring within its bounds as much as possible of the regions once claimed by its French rulers; the centralization of government in its various phases under the control of the Crown, or, in other words, in his own hands; the obtaining

of Roman Catholic sympathy and the powerful support of the Church for British connection and government in the inevitable troubles which he saw to be coming from the New England and Atlantic Colonies; the amelioration of local conditions so as to make the French settlers satisfied with local laws; the avoidance of unnecessary or unpopular taxation. Fortunately for Great Britain and the Canada of the future, he was given a tolerably free hand, and would have held a still stronger position and a greater place in the history of the Continent if it had not been for the fatuous littleness of Lord George Germaine. In 1769, after a close study of the situation, he returned to England bent upon obtaining the legislation afterward expressed in the Quebec Act. In the persistent work of the next few years he received strong and substantial aid from Chief-Justice Hey of Quebec, and from François Maséres, the Attorney-General of the Province.

By the terms of the Act, the Province of Quebec was defined as extending southward to the Ohio, westward to the Mississippi, northward to the boundaries of the Hudson's Bay territory, and eastward to the borders of Nova Scotia. A Council was to be appointed consisting of such persons resident in the Province, "not exceeding twenty-three or less than seventeen, as His Majesty, his heirs, and successors may be pleased to appoint." This body was to have authority to make laws for "the peace, welfare, and good government of the Province, with the consent of His Majesty's Governor, or in his absence of the Lieutenant-Governor, or Commander-in-Chief for the time being." It was further provided that the Council should not have power to impose taxes on the people of Quebec except for ordinary local public works; that every Ordinance or law was to be subject to disallowance by the King within six months; that laws affecting religion, or imposing severe penalties of any kind, must have the Royal sanction before becoming operative; that the King should retain the right to establish Courts of law; that nothing in the Act should be construed as repealing or affecting the Brit-

ish enactments already passed for "prohibiting, restraining, or regulating the trade or commerce of His Majesty's Colonies or Plantations in America." The vital point of the whole measure was, however, in its religious clauses.

In the Montreal Articles of Capitulation, signed on September 8, 1760, by General Amherst and M. de Vandreuil, entire freedom of worship had been promised to Roman Catholics, and the Communities of Nuns and Priests were to be maintained in their properties and privileges. The Treaty of Paris, three years later, granted "the liberty of the Roman Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada," and gave them permission to worship according to the rites of their Church, "so far as the laws of Great Britain permit." This latter clause could, of course, have been read so as to invalidate all privileges and freedom of worship, but this was not done. Now, by the terms of the Quebec Act, not only was the former religious liberty maintained, but the Roman Catholic Clergy were authorized "to hold, receive, and enjoy their accustomed dues and rights with respect to such persons only as shall profess the said religion," while "ecclesiastical persons and officers" were relieved from the necessity of taking the Elizabethan Oath of Supremacy, and were given instead a simple oath of allegiance. Religious Orders and Communities were exempted from the guarantee of properties and possessions, but with the exception of the Society of Jesus, which had been suppressed, in 1773, by Pope Clement IV, "with their functions, houses, and institutions," the exception was allowed to remain inoperative.

Incidentally, and in order to appease the small Protestant population of the Colony where Roman Catholicism was thus practically established as a Church in alliance with the State it was specified that out of the dues and rights referred to above the King might provide for "the maintenance and support of the Protestant Clergy" in the Province. The principles and practice of the French Civil law were in some vague measure guaranteed to the inhabitants while those of the English Criminal law were expressly es-

tablished. Such was the Quebec Act of 1774. It was by no means a perfect measure, nor did it give complete satisfaction either at the time or afterward. But it carried the Province through a period of trouble and perplexity and created a substantial basis for fuller constitutional action along more extended lines.

The controversies surrounding this enactment in England were as interesting as they were extensive. On May 26, 1774, Sir Guy Carleton, Chief-Justice Hey, Attorney-General Maséres, and M. de Lotbinière had appeared before the bar of the House of Commons to discuss and explain the proposed legislation. Carleton declared that there was no desire for an Assembly among the French Canadians, that there were only 360 Protestant families in the country, all told, and that there were not enough representative men to warrant the creation of such a body. He did not favor a French Assembly. M. Maséres stated that the French in Canada had no clear ideas regarding government, indulged in few theoretical speculations and would be content with any form given them as long as it was well administered. Chief-Justice Hey wanted to see the laws blended with those of England—in other words the abolition of special race and religious privileges. M. de Lotbinière seemed to think that if the French Seigneurial tenure system was maintained and the Seigneurs admitted to some kind of a Council the people would be fairly satisfied.

In this connection the special reports of the British Attorney-General Thurlow and Solicitor-General Wedderburn had already been submitted to Parliament. Both the writers were eminent men. The former became celebrated as Lord High Chancellor and Baron Thurlow, the latter as Lord High Chancellor, Baron Loughborough, and Earl of Rosslyn. Thurlow believed in non-interference with existing Civil laws, customs, manners, private rights, minor public affairs, and religious privileges. Wedderburn favored the establishment of a Council with restricted powers in the making of laws, the retention of religious privileges, the protection of

the priests, the toleration of Monastic Orders—with the exception of the Jesuits. Marryott, the Advocate-General, whose report did not appear until after the passage of the Act, very wisely urged the regulation of the Courts of Justice, the definition and declaration of the Civil law, and the regulation of the revenue. He believed in dual language in the Courts but did not approve of any formal establishment or recognition of the Roman Catholic faith. It should, he thought, merely be tolerated.

The debates in the House of Commons were stormy. Those were days of not only extreme sensibility regarding Colonies in general, of natural doubt concerning questions of loyalty and the ties of kinship, but of strong prejudice against Roman Catholicism, and of intense and very proper suspicion of anything touching French character and French friendship. It was the commencement of an era which racked men's souls and carried the British ship of state through varied seas of storm and stress. On June 8, 1774, when the measure came before the House, William Burke declared that instead of making the Colonists free subjects of England they were being sentenced to French government for ages. "They are condemned slaves by the British Parliament." Thomas Townshend described it as a measure "to establish Popery." Colonel Barre declared it to be "Popish from beginning to end." Mr. Sergeant Glynne believed that it was the duty of England not to be too tolerant of alien principles and prejudices, but "to root those prejudices from the minds of Canadians, to attach them by degrees to the Civil Government of England, and to rivet the union by the strong ties of laws, language, and religion."

THE WORKING OF THE QUEBEC ACT

Parliament, however, passed the Act and the King signed it despite protests such as that of the Corporation of London, which denounced it as subversive of the fundamental principles of the Monarchy, as establishing the Roman Catholic religion, and as failing to provide for the proper protection

of the Protestant faith. During the seventeen years in which this legislation was in force it can hardly be said to have had a fair chance for efficient operation. It did the one great thing for which it was created in modifying French-Canadian suspicions; and thus holding the people passive during the stormy period of the American Revolution and preventing them from falling into the swirl of French ambition and revolutionary ideas.

It won for England the powerful alliance and support of the Church of Rome in the Colony and the support of its adherents in the War of 1812—long after the measure itself had been replaced and extended by the Act of 1791. But it failed as a means for really efficient administration of Provincial affairs. It did not conciliate the natural and antagonistic feelings of the small body of the English settlers toward the large French section of the population. It did not sufficiently distinguish between the French and English laws and define which was to be maintained and which discarded. It did not teach the Judges how to bring order out of legal chaos and administer justice under a system which they did not understand the limits of. It did not make easier the complications which naturally arose when thousands of American Loyalists settled in the Upper part of the Province and found themselves governed by a mixed English and French system.

Meanwhile, Sir Guy Carleton had become Lord Dorchester and was sent back to the Province which he had done so much to hold for Great Britain and to mold into its existing shape. He arrived in 1786, as Governor-General of all British America, and seems to have seen at once that some modification in the Quebec Act was necessary under the new circumstances which had arisen. In response to a request from the Colonial Secretary for a report on the subject, Lord Dorchester declared that any change in the constitution should be gradual, that a firm and paternal administration was the best cure for present troubles, that the Loyalist settlement in the west was not yet ready for anything higher than

county government, and that a Lieutenant-Governor of ability should be at once selected for the Upper part of the Province. In case the division of the Province of Quebec in a definite form were decided upon, he submitted certain suggestions as to the line of separation. In 1789 the policy was settled, and, two years later, the new Constitutional Act passed the British Parliament after its terms had been fully approved by Lord Dorchester.

By this new measure Quebec was divided into two distinct Provinces, with a Lieutenant-Governor, a Legislative Council, and an Assembly in each. The Council was to consist of not less than seven members appointed for life by the Governor-General, or Lieutenant-Governor, and with hereditary functions under certain conditions. The Assembly was to consist of not less than fifty members in Lower Canada and sixteen in Upper Canada. The Governor had power to give, or reserve, or refuse the King's assent to any measure passed by the Council and Assembly, while the King-in-Council could disallow any Bill within two years of its passage. A Court of Civil Jurisdiction in each Province was to be established. The Governor was given power to allot lands and rent therefrom for the support of the Protestant clergy in both Upper and Lower Canada, and, with the advice of his Executive Council, to erect parsonages under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Nova Scotia. No legislation under the Act was to interfere with Parliamentary prohibitions or duties regarding commerce and navigation.

OBJECTIONS TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL ACT

Some of the local objections to this measure were natural; others, in the retrospect of history, seem very curious. Adam Lymburner, a respected merchant of Quebec City, represented before the bar of the House of Commons the views of many English-speaking settlers. They wanted the absolute repeal of the Quebec Act and a new constitution which would limit the power of the French Canadians and increase their own. They disliked the proposed division of territory, he

declared, because if the policy were ever found to work injuriously the Provinces could not be reunited; and because the new Province of Upper Canada "would be entirely cut off from all communication with Great Britain," and there would thus be a gradual weakening in the existing ties of loyalty and attachment to the Mother-country. He opposed the clause conferring hereditary membership in the Legislative Council, and concluded his evidence by declaring that the Falls of Niagara were "an insurmountable barrier to the transportation of produce" and that Quebec was nearly the centre of the cultivable part of the Province. On May 6, 1791, there commenced a debate in the Imperial Commons which has become historical on account of the controversy between Pitt and Fox and Burke.

It was then the day of blood and terror in France as well as of the dominance in the British Parliament of an eloquence which has never since been equaled. Naturally, this conferring of constitutional liberties upon the French of Quebec stirred up the friends and foes of the French Revolution in Parliament and caused some great speeches. Burke declared that a new light had arisen upon the horizon of France. The French Academies, uniting with French Clubs, had lit the blaze of liberty with the torch of sedition and had diffused the flame of freedom by the help of "La Lanterne." He seemed to fear that there was an attempt in the proposed Act to graft some of the principles of the French constitution upon that of the Colony and he strongly advocated the adoption of British principles only.

Fox denounced everything and everybody and especially the clause of the Bill which applied the hereditary principle to the Legislative Council. Pitt, with all his powerful personality and influence, defended the measure and eventually carried it through the House. He expressed his wish to give Canada as perfect a constitution as possible—a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy such as they had in Great Britain herself. It is apparent from these debates that the British statesmen of that critical period were warmly

appreciative of the loyalty of the French Canadians during the American Revolution and of their conservatism in connection with the still more menacing storm in France. Pitt, himself, had an idea that the more the Colonies in British America could be kept apart the better it would be for their loyalty, and he, therefore, strongly favored the perpetuation of French laws, institutions, and language in Lower Canada with that object in view. Union among the Thirteen Colonies had produced war and independence; union among the remaining British Colonies would certainly be dangerous! When such was the belief of England's greatest political leader in 1791 there is certainly some ground for excusing the mistakes of King George a quarter of a century before.

After the Bill had passed both Houses it was duly proclaimed by the King-in-Council on August 24, 1791, and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada created. Lord Dorchester was, of course, still Governor-General, or Governor-in-Chief, as the title went for many years after this time. Major-General Sir Alvred Clarke was Lieutenant-Governor of the Lower Province, Major-General J. Graves Simcoe of the Upper. Among those who were present at Quebec in December of this year during the inauguration of the new constitution was H. R. H. Prince Edward—afterward Duke of Kent and father of Queen Victoria. Newark, afterward Niagara, was the first capital of the infant Province of Upper Canada, and then York—afterward Toronto—was founded by Simcoe for this purpose upon the shores of Lake Ontario and amid a background of deep and gloomy forest. His earliest preference, however, had been a place on the Thames, in the heart of the western wilderness and far removed from danger of American attack, which afterward became the City of London. Simcoe's first Assembly met at Newark on September 17, 1792, and the first Parliament of Lower Canada at Quebec on December 17th following.

The conditions prevalent in the two communities at this time were very different. The Upper Province was peopled by British Loyalists trained in Colonial self-government, so

far as it was understood in those days, and saturated with faith in the freedom and fairness of British institutions. They had English laws and their lands were held on freehold tenure. They had a Governor who was one of those clear-sighted, determined characters so essential to a period and conditions when the mold of nationality is not formed and when much depends upon the initiative of those who possess authority. He was British and loyal to the heart's core, had fought in command of the Queen's Rangers of Virginia during the Revolution, and fully expected to fight in another struggle of the same kind. During his brief four years of power, he, in fact, warned the Home authorities that another war with the United States was inevitable before matters finally settled down. He prepared in such small ways as he could for the possibility, built roads throughout the wilderness suited for the transport of troops, issued a proclamation offering freer grants of land to all Loyalists still remaining in the States, and was successful in obtaining large numbers. Incidentally he did much, by pressure upon the Imperial authorities, to establish the Church of England in the Province and something to help education and to lay the first foundations of municipal institutions.

Lower Canada, on the other hand, was essentially a French Province. It had a British Governor, an Assembly after the English pattern, the Habeas Corpus Act, and the Criminal law of England. But this was all. Lands were still held on the old French feudal tenure, although to suit incoming settlers the freehold tenure was allowed under special request. French law in civil matters was paramount as were French customs and language. The religion which has been identified with French-Canadian life was practically established as a State Church at the very time that its influence was being destroyed and its position utterly undermined in the Motherland of the Canadian *habitant*. As in Upper Canada, however, a large portion of the wild lands of the Province was set apart for the support of the Protestant clergy. The people were ignorant, entirely untrained in con-

stitutional doctrine or practice, and really unable for some years to grasp the meaning of an elective Assembly. When they did so the results were not exactly beneficial.

THE MARITIME PROVINCES

Meanwhile, the Maritime Provinces were making rapid progress. The introduction of the Loyalists had given a new meaning to the staid and sober political conditions of Acadian life. As far back as 1758 there had been free institutions and the first representative Assembly formed on Canadian soil had begun to sit at Halifax in October of that year. The Province of Nova Scotia then included the New Brunswick of the future and the two islands along the coast. But, with the coming of the great Loyalist migration, a readjustment was found necessary, and New Brunswick, in 1784, became a Province with an Assembly and a Governor of its own—Colonel Thomas Carleton, brother of Lord Dorchester. It had prospered greatly under the heavy preferential duties which England imposed in favor of its lumber; and its rivers were choked with floating timber, its sawmills crowded with products for shipbuilding and manufacturing.

In Nova Scotia a sturdy and able Loyalist, an old-fashioned and honorable Tory, in the person of Sir John Wentworth, was Governor from 1792 to 1808. He helped Bishop Inglis to found the University of King's College and to vigorously uphold the union of State and Church. Incidentally, the war with France had caused a great display of patriotism among the militia and the enrolment of the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment; while the presence of H. R. H. the Duke of Kent at Halifax, as Commander of the forces in British America, had made that city a brilliant social centre, and, through the personal popularity of the Duke, had caused the name of the Island of St. John to be changed to Prince Edward. Population, meantime, had grown greatly throughout all the Provinces. In 1791 it was about 20,000 in Upper Canada, 150,000 in Lower Canada, and 50,000 in the Provinces by the sea. By 1806 these figures had grown to

about 70,000 in Upper Canada, 250,000 in Lower Canada, and over 100,000 in the Atlantic Provinces.

With the expansion of population, the influx of new people with fresh ideas, or old principles, and the friction of wider discussion, came controversies of serious importance and the seeds of a situation which was eventually to destroy the Act of 1791 and to recreate the constitutions of all the Provinces. Roughly speaking, the Constitutional Act was fairly successful in its operation in the Canadas up to the end of the century; workable with many jars and much friction during the ensuing decade; and thenceforward a complete failure. The pivotal point in its creation and application was the threefold structure of Governor,* Legislative Council, and House of Assembly. They corresponded, after a shadowy fashion, to the King, Lords, and Commons of England. There was the Executive Council, which developed from a single advisory body of representative men into a strong Cabinet somewhat after the English style, but without the vital points of responsibility to the Legislature or the adoption of a departmental system.

The Governor or Lieutenant-Governor was, of course, appointed by the Crown. The Legislative Council was appointed by the Governor, as was the Executive Council. The two Councils came in time to be so mixed up in composition and so strongly of one opinion in matters of policy that they were practically one and the same body—the smaller one being really a committee of the larger. The Assembly, on the other hand, was elected by the people for a fixed term of years, and naturally soon came into conflict with the Upper House. This was the form of government in all the Provinces, but its operation was very different in the French and English sections, and the reasons urged for its maintenance or change equally dissimilar.

In Lower Canada the Governors came out, generally, with

* The Governor-General seems to have been the real Governor of Lower Canada, while in the other Provinces he rarely interfered with the Lieutenant-Governors.

an idea that the French Canadians must be conciliated and their loyalty maintained; but that no shred of Imperial supremacy should be surrendered. Upon their arrival they found that the English minority was enterprising, wealthy, and undoubtedly loyal to British interests and ideas, but in continuous and bitter controversy with a French majority, whose leaders every year became more anti-British, and more out of touch with the principles supported by the Crown's representatives, and, as they soon discovered, by the members of the two English-speaking Councils. In following out their instructions to conserve British connection, they had, therefore, to practically renounce the hope of conciliating the French, or else to place themselves in a position of direct antagonism to the English. Sometimes they risked the latter alternative, and the interests, or supposed interests, of England and the British element in the Colony were sacrificed at the shrine of a fleeting French popularity. Then there was confusion worse confounded.

In Upper Canada the difficulty took a slightly different shape. There was little trouble during the earlier years, as all the population was Loyalist, of one mind in political thought, and intent chiefly upon building up its homes and strengthening its stakes in the wilderness. Later, when population grew greater and Radicals came from Scotland and Lancashire, Liberals from various parts of England, Americans from the States, who were intent upon business advantage and filled with republican notions, the situation altered considerably. These people naturally knew nothing of former conditions, and were antagonistic to the class government which they found in existence. That it was the best in administrative skill and knowledge which the Colony—little in population and great in territory—could produce; that the Councils were made up of men who had gone through the perils and privations of pioneer life without original hope of power, and who thoroughly believed in their right to rule the Province they had founded; that it was desirable to proceed slowly and carefully in the making of a constitution; for

all these things the new-comers cared little. Collisions of opinion under such conditions were inevitable, and it was equally a matter of course and of right, as affairs then stood, that the Governor and the Loyalists should work together.

In the Maritime Provinces affairs remained without change, or serious agitation for change, until long after this period. The bulk of the settlers were either Loyalists or Acadians, and in either case not inclined to active agitation against the governing powers. The Governors, upon the whole, were good administrators, intent upon developing Colonial resources. So it was that, while most of the powers of government remained in the hands of the Governor and Council in each of the Atlantic Provinces, people did not find themselves placed in any position of acute antagonism, or under the apparent necessity of energetic agitation. None the less, however, was the time merely postponed for beginning the long struggle which was to develop here, as elsewhere, between Governor and Assembly. That conflict commenced seriously in the Maritime Provinces after the War of 1812, and lasted through infinite variations until 1848.

CHAPTER IX

THE WAR OF 1812-15

AS in the case of so many historic conflicts, the nominal causes of the War of 1812 between Great Britain and the United States were not the real ones. The Berlin Decrees of Napoleon Bonaparte and the retaliatory Orders-in-Council of the British Government, by which each Power sought to blockade the coast of its enemy and check its trade and commerce, naturally bore hardly upon neutral Powers. Especially was this the case with the American Republic, which had come to almost monopolize the carrying trade of the world during England's prolonged death-grapple with France. So far as the latter country was concerned, the

blockade was a mere paper mandate, but in the case of England, with her immense and effective navy, the Orders-in-Council became a stern reality and were not a little injurious to American interests.

CAUSES OF THE WAR

Still, the action on the part of England was just in itself, as well as a matter of justifiable self-defence, and had there been anything approaching a general spirit of friendliness or kinship in the United States, to say nothing of sympathy with the Mother-country's continued struggle for the liberties of Europe, the policy would have been borne patiently or modified as a result of courteous representations. But, except in parts of New England, and in isolated instances elsewhere, this sentiment did not exist, and the irritation which still lingered from the days of the Revolution grew in force and fire as it fed upon the unfortunate effect of the war on American commerce.

So also with the question of the right to search neutral ships upon the high seas for deserters. From the United States' standpoint of the time and with any clear perception of the natural feelings of a young, proud, and high-strung nation, under all the circumstances of the case, it is easy now to see how offensive the seizure of its vessels and the forcible removal of suspected seamen must have been. At the same time, had there not been the bitterness of a strong and preconceived hostility of sentiment, the reasonableness of England's position from her standpoint would have been far more generally recognized.

AMERICAN EXPECTATIONS

The latter country was engaged in a great struggle for national existence, and her very life depended upon the fleet whose strength was being steadily depleted by the desertion of its seamen to American vessels. Under such circumstances her exercise of a right of search, which had not been previously questioned with any degree of seriousness by other

Powers, might at least have been met in a spirit of some compromise. To have refused to accept, or to have aided in returning, the deserters from ships of a friendly Power, under such conditions of extreme gravity, might have been thought a reasonable action. But it does not seem to have been even considered, and the unfortunately high-handed action of H. M. S. *Leopard* in capturing the *Chesapeake* and taking certain alleged deserters to Halifax Harbor, where they were tried and punished, complicated matters still further. And this despite the immediate apologies of the British Government and recall of the officers concerned. Then came the unprovoked destruction of the *Little Belt* by an American frigate in 1811. Jefferson's embargo, excluding British ships from American ports, also followed; though it was afterward repealed from inability to enforce its provisions. And so things developed in connection with these two nominal causes of a sanguinary struggle.

First of all, the real reasons for the war lay deeper. There was the still smouldering hostility of Revolutionary days in the United States. There, still further, the natural sympathy of its people with France, as an old-time ally against England, and despite the apparent inconsistency of a republic supporting the ambitions of a military autocracy. There was, also, a lingering and longing desire to round off the country by the acquisition of British America; and the strong popular belief that it would be an easy thing to do in the event of war. There was the inevitable political complication of parties struggling for public support, and, in the end, there was the spectacle of President Madison accepting renomination (and eventual election) upon an actual pledge to declare war against Great Britain.

These were the real causes of the struggle. England had no desire for it. Her every interest was in peace and her every effort was to preserve it. Canada, indeed, suffered during the early days of the war from actual instructions to the Governor-General, Sir George Prevost, to take things easy on the chance of an arrangement being patched up and the

greatly burdened backs of the British soldier and sailor and taxpayer saved from the addition of a new conflict. At this time Wellington was still warring in the Peninsula, Napoleon was at the height of his power, and British money was being poured out like water to hold the allied nations of Europe from utter collapse. It was, in fact, the critical moment in the prolonged British conflict with a great soldier who seemed now to have a continent at his feet and 400,000 of the finest troops ever trained by genius and conquering skill ready at his hand. His only danger, the only check upon his colossal ambitions, came from the little country across the Channel against whom the United States, on June 18, 1812, formally declared war.

If England, however, had reason to regret the addition of one more enemy and another conflict to the catalogue of her responsibilities and difficulties, the scattered Provinces of British America had still more apparent cause to do so. From the Detroit River to Halifax there were spread along a thousand miles of borderland less than 5,000 British troops. The population of the whole vast region was only 300,000, men, women, and children, as against an American population of 8,000,000. The people of Upper Canada, where the bulk of the fighting was to take place, were only 77,000 in number. The result seemed so certain that Jefferson described it as "a mere matter of marching"; Eustis, the Secretary of War, declared that "we can take the Canadas without soldiers"; Henry Clay announced that "we have the Canadas as much under our command as she (Great Britain) has the ocean."

GENERAL BROCK THE HERO OF THE WAR

Much of the successful resistance of the Provinces to the ensuing invasion of their territories by eleven different armies in two years is due to the wisdom and courage of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, who, in 1812, was Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada and Commander of the forces. Nearly every war, in every country, seems to produce some one central figure, and Brock is undeniably the hero of this impor-

gant struggle—a war which decided the destiny of half a continent and affected the whole future of Great Britain and its then infant Empire. He anticipated what was coming, warned the British authorities of its inevitability, and strove with limited means and shadowy support to prepare for the time of struggle. Addressing the Legislature of his Province on February 4, 1812, and more than four months before the actual outbreak of the war, he described the situation of England and Upper Canada in stirring and historic words:

"The glorious contest in which the British Empire is engaged and the vast sacrifice which Britain nobly offers to secure the independence of other nations might be expected to stifle every feeling of envy and jealousy and at the same time to excite the interest and command the admiration of a free people; but, regardless of such general impressions, the American Government evinces a disposition calculated to impede and divide her efforts. England is not only interdicted the harbors of the United States while they afford a shelter to cruisers of her inveterate enemy, but she is likewise compelled to resign those maritime rights which she has so long exercised and enjoyed. Insulting threats are offered and hostile preparations actually commenced; and though not without hope that cool reflection and the dictates of justice may yet avert the calamities of war, I can not be too urgent in recommending to your early attention the adoption of such measures as will best secure the internal peace of the country and defeat every hostile aggression."

Within the last few lines of this speech there is a hint at internal disaffection. It was, indeed, an unfortunate fact that American settlers in certain districts of the Province had elected to the Legislatures men who reflected their views and seriously hampered for a brief period the action of the Executive. Two of these so-called British legislators and citizens afterward fled to the invaders' lines, and one of them, named Wilcocks, ultimately fell in fighting the country of his adoption and allegiance. But Brock knew that he could depend upon the mass of the people in his Province, and that the loyalty of the men of 1783 and their sons would flame forth as brightly at this crisis as it had ever done in the days of revolution and migration. He told them truly, through an appeal to the Legislature, that the free spirit of a free people can never die and never be conquered, and that Great Britain would stand by them to her last man and her

last gun in resisting the coming wanton invasion of British territory.

Under all these circumstances, therefore, when the news of the declaration of war reached Brock, through a private source, he knew that everything would depend upon swift and sweeping action. He promptly sent some regulars to try and hold the Niagara frontier, summoned the Legislature, called out the militia, and made such preparations as he could pending the receipt of official information regarding the action of the United States. It did not come, but on July 11th General Hull crossed the St. Clair River, from Detroit to Sandwich, with 2,000 men, and issued a braggadocio proclamation announcing protection to all non-combatants, declaring the certainty of conquest and relief from British "tyranny and oppression," and stating that if the British Government accepted assistance from its Indian subjects in resisting his invasion, "instant destruction" would be the lot of all who might be captured fighting beside an Indian contingent. Brock replied with a most eloquent, dignified, and patriotic manifesto, and, on July 27th, met the Legislature with an address which was a model in sentiment and expression. By the 8th of August, Hull had returned again to Detroit on hearing of the capture by Captain Roberts, in pursuance of orders from his chief, of the important American position at Michilimackinac.

One week later Brock, with 320 regulars and 400 militia from York and Lincoln, assisted by the gallant Indian chief Tecumseh and some 600 followers, was crossing the St. Clair in pursuit of his enemy. Hull had been startled, first by a summons to surrender, and then by seeing the little British army crossing the river—General Brock "erect in his canoe, leading the way to battle," as Tecumseh, in graphic Indian style, afterward described the event. Before an assault could be made, however, Hull and his entire force of 2,500 men, including the 4th United States Regiment and its colors, surrendered. With the capitulation went the entire Territory of Michigan; the town and port of Detroit, which prac-

tically commanded the whole of western Canada; the *Adams* war brig; many stands of arms, a large quantity of much-needed stores, thirty-three pieces of cannon and the military chest. It had been a bold, a venturesome action on the part of Brock, and the result affected almost the entire struggle. It inspirited the militia from end to end of the Provinces; it showed many of those having disloyal tendencies that it might be safer to at least appear loyal; it electrified the masses with vigor and fresh determination.

Following this all-important action Brock turned to meet greater difficulties than were presented by the enemy in the field. He had to encounter the weakness and vacillation of Sir George Prevost, who, as Governor-General and Commander of the forces, was directing affairs from Quebec in the spirit of one who believed that hostilities would soon cease, and knew that the Ministry at home was anxious to do nothing that would intensify difficulties in that connection. An armistice, arranged by Prevost, neutralized many of the benefits derived from the capture of Detroit; orders from the same source prevented Brock from destroying American shipping on the Lakes which was in course of building, and which he foresaw might endanger the control of that most vital part of the situation; commands actually issued for the evacuation of Detroit, though they were fortunately capable of evasion; while the very documents and General Orders written by Prevost were dispiriting in effect and unfortunate in terms.

But Brock turned to his militia, and, though refused the right of aggressive action which might have turned the whole tide of events, he proceeded with a system of organization which soon made his volunteer force as effective in health, spirit, drill, and condition as well-equipped and experienced regular troops. And, through the summary measures of imprisonment, or practical banishment, accorded those who showed an overt inclination to the American side—coupled with the magnetic influence of his own character and strong, personal confidence in the result of the struggle—he obtained full control over the population as well as the Legislature.

He made every effort to give the volunteers an opportunity of getting in their crops, and all over the Province the women themselves helped by working in the fields. Throughout the conflict, indeed, the signal devotion of noble women was continuously added to a record of determined defence of their country by the men; and the incident of Laura Secord walking miles through snake-infested swamps and a gloomy forest region to give a British force warning of the enemy's approach, was by no means an isolated instance of devotion. On the 18th of September, while his preparations were still in progress, Brock wrote his brother that in a short time he would hear of a decisive action and added: "If I should be beaten the Province is lost." This reference to the gathering of 8,000 American troops upon the border, for invasion by way of Niagara, illustrates the signal importance of the coming conflict at Queenston Heights. Their intention was to take and hold this strong position as a fortified camp, and from thence overrun the Province with troops brought at leisure from the immense reserves behind. At the same time, General Dearborn with a large force was to menace Montreal from New York State by way of Lake Champlain, General Harrison was to invade the Upper Province from Michigan with 6,000 men, and Commodore Chauncey was to take a force across Lake Ontario.

BATTLE OF QUEENSTON HEIGHTS

The first part of this programme commenced on October 13th, with an attempted movement of 1,500 U. S. regulars and 2,500 militia across the Niagara River. About 1,100 troops, slowly followed by other detachments, succeeded in getting over and climbed the Heights of Queenston in the face of what slight resistance could be offered by a British outpost. If the Americans could have held this position the result was certain, and would probably have been much in the line of their expectations. Meantime, Sir Isaac Brock — unknown to himself he had been gazetted an extra Knight of the Bath one week before as a recognition of his victory at

Detroit—had arrived from his nearby post at Fort George, whence he had been watching matters.

But before he could do anything further than show himself to his troops, size up the situation, hasten up his reinforcements, and shout out an order to "Push on the York Volunteers," to resist an American contingent which at this point was making its way up the Heights, he fell with a ball in his breast, and with only time to request that his death should be concealed from the soldiers. The reinforcements, under Major-General Sheaffe, arrived shortly afterward, and, with 800 men in hand, a bayonet charge was made upon the enemy which forced them over the Heights down toward the shore, many in their headlong retreat being dashed to pieces amid the rocks, or drowned in attempting to cross the wild waters of the Niagara. The survivors surrendered to the number of 960 men, including Major-General Wadsworth, six Colonels, and 56 other officers—among whom was the afterward famous General Winfield Scott. The British loss was trifling in numbers, though among them was the gallant young Lieutenant-Colonel John McDonell, Attorney-General of the Province.

Considerable as was the victory, however, and important as was the result to Upper Canada, nothing could counterbalance the death of the hero of the war. The inspiration of his memory remained, it is true, and was lasting in its effect, but the presence of his fertile intellect, his powers of rapid movement, his genius for military organization were forever lost. Had he lived his name would probably have been a great one in the annals of the British army and the world. As it is, although his place is secure in the web and woof of Canadian history and in the hearts of its people, it has, in too many British and American records of war, been relegated to the position held by myriads of gallant officers who have simply done their duty and been killed in some obscure outpost skirmish. The vast import of the influences and issues decided by these first events of the struggle are in such cases disregarded or unknown.

Winter was now at hand, and, after a futile invasion from Buffalo, under General Smyth, which was repulsed by a few troops commanded by Colonel Cecil Bisshopp, the scene of the conflict goes for a brief moment to Lower Canada. Prevost had his difficulties there, as well as Brock in the other Province, but he was without the latter's vigor and determination. He had succeeded to the troubles of Sir James Craig's administration, and found a community which had been violently stirred by frothy agitations and by influences resulting from the peculiar racial conditions of the country. So great was the apparent discord that it had undoubtedly helped the war party in the States to spread the belief that the passive French Canadians of 1776 were now, at last, active in their antagonism to British rule. But when war was once declared, the internal strife vanished as if by magic, and the local Legislature showed immediate willingness to support the Governor in all necessary steps—and in this proved superior in its loyalty to the little Assembly at York which had allowed Wilcocks and his supporters to momentarily block procedure.

The Governor-General was authorized to levy and equip 2,000 men, and, in case of invasion, to arm the whole militia of the Province. The members voted £32,000 for purposes of defence, and at the next Session granted £15,000 a year for five years, in order to pay the interest on the issue of army bills. It may be stated here that the Upper Canada Legislature, in February, 1812, also recognized the immediate need of money by authorizing General Brock to issue army bills to the extent of £500,000—two million dollars in the Halifax currency of $4.00 to a pound, which was so long and extensively used in the Provinces. The payment of the interest was guaranteed, and, in January, 1814, the authorized amount of issue was increased to £1,500,000 currency—six million dollars. The financial arrangements of the war in both Provinces were, indeed, excellently made. No public officer was allowed to profit by the use of these notes, and the payment of the interest was carefully attended to on a cir-

culation of which the highest point appears to have been $4,820,000. In December, 1815, it may be added, the bills were called in and redeemed by Sir Gordon Drummond, then Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, and acting on behalf of the British Government.

Meantime, to again refer to the campaign of 1812, some 10,000 men under General Dearborn had threatened the Lower Province from near Lake Champlain; but after a brief demonstration which was checked by the Montreal militia under Lieutenant-Colonel de Salaberry, the American forces all along the line retired into winter quarters and the Canadas found that they had come through the first campaign of the war without a defeat or the loss of a foot of soil. Some progress, however, had been made by the Americans in obtaining that command of the Lakes which Brock had been so wisely anxious to avert at the commencement of the contest.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813

The campaign of 1813 was not quite so pleasant an experience. It opened successfully for the British and Canadian forces. On January 19th, Colonel Procter with 500 British regulars and 800 Indians under the Wyandotte chief, Roundhead, crossed the frozen St. Clair, and, two days later attacked General Winchester, who had about an equal number of men under him. After a severe battle, in which he lost by death or wounded 182 men, Procter won a decisive victory and took nearly 500 prisoners. The loss to the enemy in killed was between three and four hundred men. It was a dearly purchased success, however, as it won for Procter a reputation which he sadly failed to live up to. Colonel George McDonell, who had raised a strong regiment among the gallant Highland Catholics of the Glengarry settlement, on February 23d attacked Ogdensburg, in New York State—from which some predatory excursions had come during the winter—and captured eleven guns, a large quantity of ordnance and military stores and two armed schooners. Four officers and seventy privates were taken prisoners.

In April, however, Commodore Chauncey with a fleet of 14 ships and 1,700 troops, sailed from Sackett's Harbor, on the New York coast of Lake Ontario, for York (Toronto), which was then a small place of 800 population, containing the Government buildings of the Province. Under the immediate command of Brigadier-General Pike the Americans landed on April 27th, but were for some time held in check by the determined resistance of two companies of the 8th Regiment and about 200 Canadian militia. The Fort, situated at some distance from the little town, was finally captured after an accidental explosion in which Pike and 260 of his men were killed. As the advance continued, General Sheaffe withdrew his small force of regulars from York and retreated to Kingston. The town then surrendered with some 250 militia, and, despite the terms of capitulation, was freely pillaged and all its public buildings burned. Even the Church was robbed of its plate and the Legislative Library looted. In this latter connection Chauncey expressed great indignation and made a personal effort to restore some of the stolen books.

Incidents of importance now came swiftly one upon another. On May 27th, Fort George, on the British side of the Niagara River, was captured by the Americans, and, two days later, Sir George Prevost was repulsed in an attack upon Sackett's Harbor. Early in June two American gunboats were captured on Lake Champlain, and on the 5th of the same month, Colonel Harvey—a soldier with some of Brock's brilliant qualities and afterward Lieutenant-Governor of all the Maritime Provinces in turn—attacked in the night a large force of at least 3,500 Americans encamped at Burlington Heights (near the Hamilton of later days) and captured a number of guns, two general officers, and over a hundred other officers and men. On the 24th of June, Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, of the 49th Regiment, by a clever concealment of his numbers, forced the surrender of 544 American soldiers under Colonel Boerstler, not far from Fort George and Queenston. He had only some 66 troops and 250 Indians in

his command. During the next two months the British captured Black Rock, where they lost the gallant Colonel Bishopp, and Fort Schlosser—both on the Niagara frontier. Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain, was captured and the public buildings burned in memory of York. The latter place was taken a second time by the Americans.

Then came the disastrous British defeat on Lake Erie, where Captain Barclay, with six vessels and 300 seamen, was beaten by Commodore Perry, with nine vessels and double the number of men. Not only disastrous, but disgraceful, was the ensuing defeat of General Procter, near Moraviantown, by General Harrison, who had driven him from Detroit and Amherstburg. Procter was retreating steadily with some 400 troops, and 800 Indians under Tecumseh, pursued by the American force of 4,000 men. The battle was fought on October 5th, and the natural result followed, with, however, the added loss of Tecumseh. The disgrace to Procter, who fled early in the day and was afterward court-martialed, censured, and deprived of all command for six months, was not in defeat under such circumstances, but in the utter lack of all proper military precautions, either at the time of conflict or during his previous retreat. The death of the great Indian chief was one of the severest blows to the British cause in the whole campaign. It was more important even than the fact that this victory placed the entire western part of the Province in American hands. The territory might be won back, the leader never. Tecumseh was, indeed, a savage of heroic mold, one who inspired victory, and who, when acting with men such as Brock or Harvey, was almost invincible. His Indians would do anything for him—even refrain from massacre or cruelty—and the fear of him felt by the Americans was shown in the unfortunate indignities offered to his corpse.

The next few months saw some events of bright import, and attention must now be transferred to Lower Canada. The French Canadians earnestly and enthusiastically showed their love for the land of their birth and home by turning

out in large numbers and fighting bravely wherever required —notably on the memorable field of Chateauguay.

ATTEMPTS TO CAPTURE MONTREAL

By October an army of 8,000 men had been collected at Sackett's Harbor, N. Y., under Generals Wilkinson and Boyd, for the descent upon Montreal by way of the St. Lawrence. As these forces descended the river they were followed by a small and compact body of British troops under Colonels Pearson, Harvey, Morrison, and Plenderleath, accompanied by eight gunboats and three field-pieces which did much damage to the enemy. On November 11th, Wilkinson and his main army were with the flotilla near Prescott and on the way to effect a junction with an army under General Hampton which was to meet them at the mouth of the Chateauguay. General Boyd, with 2,500 men, was marching along the shore followed by 800 British troops under Colonel Morrison who had resolved to attack the enemy at a place called Chrystler's Farm. The result was one of the most complete victories of the war, the Americans losing many prisoners, besides 339 officers and men killed or wounded. The British loss was 181. Boyd immediately returned to his boats and joined Wilkinson. They then proceeded to the place at which the junction with Hampton was to be made and from whence they were to advance upon Montreal.

Meanwhile, Hampton had marched from Lake Champlain with 7,000 men toward the mouth of the Chateauguay. At this point, and amid the natural difficulties of forest surroundings, he was met on the night of October 25th by Colonel de Salaberry in command of 300 French-Canadian militia and a few Indians and supported by Colonel McDonell with another French contingent of 600 men, who had made the most rapid forced march in Canadian history and had reached Chateauguay the day before the battle. The Americans advanced upon the hidden first line with 4,000 men, but, on driving it back, they met the second line under

Colonel McDonell, and there encountered the stratagem of buglers placed at considerable distances apart and sounding their instruments so as to give the impression of large numbers, while at the same time the bewildering yells and war-cries of some fifty scattered Indians immensely increased the uproar and tumult. The immediate result was the defeat of the American forces, their retreat on the following day and their consequent failure to meet Wilkinson at the mouth of the Chateauguay.

This failure involved the collapse of an elaborate campaign of 15,000 men for the capture of Montreal, through the timely gallantry and clever leadership of two little armies of about 2,000 men altogether. One of the curious incidents of the battle of Chateauguay was when Colonel de Salaberry —his first line of troops being forced back by overwhelming numbers—held his own ground in the darkness with a bugler boy whom he caused to sound the advance for McDonell—thus giving the latter an opportunity to put into effect the stratagem which led the American General to think he was opposed by several thousand men. A less pleasing incident was the mean and untruthful manner in which Prevost endeavored in his despatches to take the whole credit of this victory to himself.* Despite this, the facts became known —largely through the intervention of H. R. H. the Duke of Kent, who had often proved himself a friend to De Salaberry—and at the end of the war McDonell and De Salaberry were each decorated with a C. B.

In Upper Canada during this period there had been another glaring evidence of Prevost's incapacity. Frightened by the apparent results of Procter's defeat near Moraviantown, he had ordered the British commander at Burlington and York (General Vincent) to abandon all his posts and retire upon Kingston. Had this been done the Upper Province would have been practically in American hands. Instead of doing so, however, Vincent maintained his ground, and Colonel

* Notably that of 31st of October, 1813.

Murray, with some 378 regulars and a few volunteers and Indians, was given permission some weeks later to advance upon the enemy who, with 2,700 men under General McClure, was holding Fort George. On December 10th the latter evacuated the Fort, but before doing so wantonly and cruelly burned to the ground the neighboring village (and one-time capital) of Newark. It was a cold winter's night, and the beautiful little village contained chiefly women and children —the men being either away at the front or prisoners across the river. The unfortunate inhabitants were driven into the snow without shelter and in many cases very scantily clothed. British retribution was swift. The American Fort Niagara, just across the river, was promptly stormed and held until the end of the war, and the neighboring villages of Lewistown, Youngstown, Manchester, and Tuscarora were burned. These events closed the campaign of 1813, at the end of which the Americans only held possession of Amherstburg, on the frontier of Upper Canada, and, besides losing all the benefits of Harrison's success against the incapable Procter, had also lost Fort Niagara on the American side and with it the control of the frontier in that direction.

THE STRUGGLE OF 1814

General Sir Gordon Drummond, a brave and able officer, had meanwhile become Administrator and Commander in Upper Canada, and this fact had much influence upon the succeeding struggle of 1814. This last campaign of the war commenced with another advance from Lake Champlain by 4,000 men under General Wilkinson. It was checked, and eventually repulsed, on March 30th by a gallant handful of some 300 men commanded by Major Handcock, at Lacolle's Mill—a small stone building on the Lacolle River, and about a third of the way between Plattsburg and Montreal. A little later Michilimackinac was relieved by Colonel McDonell, and in May, Sir Gordon Drummond and Sir James Yeo, the naval Commander, captured Fort Oswego on the New York side of Lake Ontario, together with some valu-

able naval stores. Meantime, some minor defeats had been encountered by British detachments, and early in July Major-General Brown, with 5,000 troops, backed by 4,000 New York militia, which had been ordered out and authorized for the war, invaded Upper Canada from Buffalo. To meet this attack Drummond had about 4,000 effective regulars, depleted however by the necessity of garrisoning a number of important posts. His difficulties in meeting the invasion were also increased by the seeming impossibility of making Prevost understand the situation and the need of reinforcements. The latter could only see the menace offered to Lower Canada by the massed forces at Lake Champlain.

Fort Erie surrendered to the Americans on July 3d, and General Riall was defeated at Chippewa two days later, with the loss of 511 men killed or wounded. The victorious American advance was checked, however, at Lundy's Lane, where Sir Gordon Drummond, who had come up from Kingston with 800 men, assumed command, and on July 25th, within sound of the roar of Niagara Falls and in the most beautiful part of a picturesque and fertile region, there was fought the fiercest battle of the whole war, and one which continued during the greater part of a dark night. The victory is variously claimed, but the bare facts are that, after trying for six hours with 5,000 men to force a British position held by half that number, Brown had to retire to Chippewa with a loss of 930 men as against Drummond's loss of 870, and with his advance effectually checked. On the 26th he retreated to Fort Erie, and was there shortly after attacked unsuccessfully by the British with a loss to the latter of 500 men. Until September, however, he was blockaded within the walls of the Fort.

The struggle with Napoleon in Europe was now temporarily over, and 16,000 trained and experienced British troops had been, meanwhile, landed at Quebec. Prevost advanced with a force of 12,000 of these troops to Plattsburg, where he was to co-operate with the British fleet on Lake Champlain. The latter was defeated, however, and the British general, with an army which, under Brock, might have

menaced New York City itself, ignominiously retreated in the face of two or three thousand American soldiers.* So far as the Canadas were concerned territorially this practically ended the war. Despite Prevost's disgrace at Plattsburg, the campaign for the year terminated with the British control of Lake Ontario—although the Americans were masters of Lake Erie—and with their possession of several forts on American soil, to say nothing of a portion of the State of Maine.

In the Maritime Provinces the struggle had not been so severely felt. Major-General Sherbrooke was Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, and, through the vicinity of the British fleet at Halifax and the presence of a sufficient number of regulars, was able in 1814 to make a series of attacks upon the coast and frontier of Maine until the whole region from Penobscot to the St. Croix was in British hands. Sherbrooke had also been sending troops up to Canada whenever possible, and the march of the 104th Regiment in February, 1813, through hundreds of miles of frozen wilderness, was of special interest as well as importance.

Elsewhere on sea and land the war had been equally varied. A number of naval victories were won by the United States as well as by Great Britain, but, excluding the actions fought in Canadian waters, there seems in nearly every case of American victory to have been a great superiority on their part in men, guns, metal, and tonnage. The purely British part of the campaign of 1814 included the capture of the City of Washington and the burning of its public buildings in revenge for the previous harrying of the Niagara frontier and burnings of York and Newark. An unsuccessful attempt was also made to capture New Orleans. The terrible bloodshed of this last struggle of the war—over 3,000 British troops were reported killed, wounded, or missing—was the result of ignorance of the fact that on December 24, 1814, a treaty of peace had been signed at Ghent.

* He was recalled and only escaped the condemnation of a Court-Martial by death.

THE EFFECTS OF THE STRUGGLE

The immediate effects of the struggle are clear upon the pages of history. The Americans obtained not a foot of British territory and not a solitary sentimental advantage. Their seaboard was insulted and injured, their capital city partially destroyed, and 3,000 of their vessels captured. The immense gain to their carrying trade which had previously accrued as a result of England's conflict with Napoleon was neutralized, while their annual exports were reduced to almost nothing and their commercial classes nearly ruined. A vast war-tax was incurred and New England rendered disaffected for years to come. The twin questions of right of search and the position of neutrals in time of war which had been the nominal causes of the conflict were not even mentioned in the Treaty of Ghent. Some military and naval glory was won, but the odds were in favor of the United States throughout the struggle, and, when England's hands were finally freed by Wellington's march upon Paris, the war ceased. In many of these conflicts, however, both on sea and land—notably in the famous duel of the *Chesapeake* and the *Shannon,* when Sir Provo Wallis, of Nova Scotian birth, laid the foundation of fame and fortune—United States soldiers and seamen showed the courage and skill of the race from which they had sprung.

To Great Britain the war had been only one more military and naval burden. It added to her difficulties in fighting France, subsidizing Europe and holding the seas against the sweeping ambitions of Napoleon. But her struggle for life or death had been so prolonged in this connection and the shadow of its wings so dark and menacing, that the conflict in Canada did not then, and has not since, attracted the attention it deserved. While this was natural enough at that period, the time has now come when the position should be changed and the memories of Brock and De Salaberry, Morrison and McDonell, Harvey and Drummond, be given their place in the historic pantheon of Empire. Canadian difficulties in the struggle should be understood, the courage of its

people comprehended, the results of the conflict appreciated. The conflict meant more than the mere details of skirmishes, battles, and the rout of invading armies would indicate. It involved considerations greater than may be seen in the ordinary record of campaigns in which the Canadian militia and British regulars appear as able to hold their own in a prolonged struggle.

That a population of 500,000 people, scattered over widely sundered areas, should be able, almost unaided, to thus successfully oppose the aggressive action of an organized republic of eight millions was an extraordinary military performance, and it is not unnatural that, in considering the record and the result, it has been chiefly done from the military standpoint. To the upbuilding of Canada, however, the war holds a place not dissimilar in national import to that of the Revolution in United States history.

It consolidated the British sentiment of the whole population from the shores of Lake Huron to the coasts of the Atlantic. It eliminated much of the disloyal element which was beginning to eat into the vitals of Provincial life in Upper Canada; and modified in some measure the force of the American spirit which remained in the hearts of a section of its settlers. It checked the growth of Republicanism among the French of Lower Canada and helped to prevent the Rebellion of 1837 in that Province from being the rising of a whole people united in political sympathies—as were its leaders—with the great and growing population to the south. It made the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church in the same part of the country feel once more as they did when the Continental Congress of 1775 attacked the Quebec Act, that the only visible danger to what they considered the sacred rights and privileges of their faith came from the other side of the international line. It, for a time, brought Canadians and French and English extraction together in defence of their hearths and homes, and laid in this fact an almost invisible foundation for that seemingly vain vision—the permanent Federal Union of British America for purposes of common

defence, interests, and government. It affected powerful religious organizations, such as the Methodist denomination, which were becoming dependent on American pulpits, supplies, and polity. It affected social life and customs by drawing still more distinct the Loyalist line against innovations from the other side of the border. Finally, it greatly affected political development and assured the ultimate success of those who strove honestly, though sometimes mistakenly in detail, to preserve and promote the permanent acceptance of British, as opposed to American, principles of government upon the northern half of the continent.

CHAPTER X

AN ERA OF AGITATION

IN the early years of the century there began to develop in the Canadas—and especially in Lower Canada, as Quebec had come to be called—the seeds of a violent constitutional agitation. It arose in the latter Province out of the well-intentioned but mistaken policy of giving the forms of free self-government to a people who knew nothing of the reality. To confer British institutions upon men of French origin was in itself an extraordinary proceeding; but when it is remembered that these French Canadians had been, in 1791, only a generation removed from the subjects of France in the most despotic of Bourbon days, and that they had changed very slightly since that time in either character, experience, or knowledge, it seems still more so.

INFLUENCE OF THE POLITICIAN

The *habitant* of that period, and during the succeeding thirty years, knew nothing of government except in traditional memories of autocracy and in his present perception of the position of his Seigneur as having control of the land and its taxation and his Priest as having charge of his soul, his morals, and his pleasures. As time passed, however, he

began to see another influence—the politician or demagogue —and was assured that the English Parliament had given to the French Canadians an Assembly by which they were to govern their own country; but that the English in Lower Canada would not allow it full control. The tyranny of the Executive Council, which advised the Governor-General, and of the Legislative Council, which threw out any legislation of an advanced kind emanating from the Assembly, were portrayed to him in vivid colors.

The *habitant* naturally did not understand matters very clearly. He began to believe that it was a question of English against French, and that the Assembly was a weapon granted by Providence with which to smite the tyrants whom an English King had placed in power. The French-Canadian peasant can hardly be blamed for this. He had not advanced in education as he had advanced in the responsibilities of government. The voter going to the polls of Lower Canada in 1800, or 1820, knew as much of the principles of self-government as his father had done in the days of Bigot or his grandfather under Louis XIV. He had no knowledge of even the rudiments of municipal control and management, to say nothing of the theories and precedents and principles and intricate practices of Parliamentary rule. He was plunged in an instant into a condition of affairs which it had taken centuries of evolution and struggle and civil war to reach in England itself; and it was little wonder if he failed to understand the workings of the system. Still less surprising was it that the whisperings of agitators and the traditions of racial feeling should have stirred him up to use his privileges in order to obtain more, and to vent, at the same time, his prejudices against an alien authority which, in certain phases, and despite the best of intentions, was naturally antagonistic to him.

RACIAL AND CLASS HOSTILITY

The English people in Quebec and Montreal comprised the governing class of the community, and, in time, included

a large mercantile and commercial element. The French, on the other hand, were essentially rural and agricultural in occupation, and their material interests were therefore easily made to appear in antagonism to those of the urban centres. So that, as years passed on, within the circle of racial hostility there was to be found a smaller circle of class hostility. Both found expression in the Legislature and in certain newspapers of the rabid type. As the ensuing political appeals and denunciations and explanations were in different languages, they altogether failed to reach the other side, and, consequently, intensified the racial feeling—especially on the part of the French masses.

The Seigneurs were not as numerous as in the days before the Conquest, but they were still a strong class in the community and with a tendency to lend their influence to moderate councils. The Governors, both before and after the period of military rule, did their utmost to conciliate the French gentry; and only a lack of forcefulness in character and ability in statecraft seems to have prevented the latter from sharing considerably in the government. More than one of the despatches sent to the Colonial Office during this period bear testimony to the paucity of capable and suitable French Canadians from whom members of the Councils might be chosen. The inevitable result of all this was that men of British birth or extraction held the reins of power, and guarded, more or less securely, the avenues of approach to office.

Though the administrations of Lord Amherst and General Murray, General Carleton and General Haldimand, Lord Dorchester* and General Prescott — 1760 to 1799 — were more or less military in their nature, the Assembly, which was first organized in 1792, proved comparatively amenable to the necessities of the situation, and was not yet filled with too great a sense of its power and opportunities. The first meeting of this body, however, gave some faint indications

* Guy Carleton, created Baron Dorchester in 1786, and appointed for the second time as Governor-General of British America.

of what was coming. It passed a loyal Address to the King, which proved the first of a long series of similar Resolutions, which were introduced from time to time whenever some innovation was about to be proposed, or some old proposal to be renewed and pressed in varying degrees of violence. It preceded this action by the very natural selection of a French Canadian as Speaker, and followed it up by a Resolution demanding the use of both the French and English languages in debate and in the published documents of the Assembly. The membership of the House of Assembly, it may be added, numbered fifty at this time, and was almost entirely French, while the Legislative Council numbered fifteen, and was almost entirely English in composition.

Gradually, disputes between the two bodies developed, and by the opening of the century promised very clearly to produce a violent future. The Assembly claimed full control of the revenues, without knowing how to make the necessary constitutional changes, and without proposing anything practicable in the way of a new system. As things were, the Governor was responsible to the Crown—or the British Cabinet—for his administration of funds, which came in part from excise and customs levied under Imperial enactment, in part from taxes controlled by the Assembly and Council together, and in part from moneys contributed by the Imperial Government to the payment of salaries and for special purposes of military necessity.

It was a difficult enough problem had there been no racial antagonisms, or religious complications, or diverse languages. No party in Quebec, either in 1800, or in 1837, when the troubles had developed into rebellion, understood or demanded a full system of Ministerial government and responsibility such as the Province and Dominion have today. This point is of the greatest importance, and is usually overlooked in the study of these times. Looking back now it is easy to see that the Council was intended as a "buffer" between the Assembly and the King's Representative; that it did not serve this purpose very long, as the French masses

soon came to consider the two identical; that there were no departments of government administrating different matters and responsible to Parliament for the performance of duty, and, especially, for the management of moneys; that there was no Premier responsible to the Assembly for the composition of his Cabinet and the policy of his Province, and that none was asked for; that the spirit which soon showed itself among the leaders of the French Canadians was not one calculated to encourage the formulation from England of schemes for a Ministerial responsibility which was not understood and practiced, even there, as it was after the days of the Reform Bill; that no glimmering had yet come to either English Liberals or Tories of a Colonial Governor acting as the constitutional sovereign of a free people, and yet representing in very real fashion the Crown of the Empire. These things can form no part of any written constitution, and could only develop out of passing years and growing experience.

THE PROBLEM AFTER THE WAR OF 1812

The problem, as it revived after the War of 1812, was very complex, and can only be fairly and fully understood by entire disassociation from the stormy debates and feelings of the times, and from the prejudices perpetuated by much historical writing of a biased character. It may be taken for granted, and as a basis for any such study of the situation, that there was good in all parties to the prolonged dispute in all the Provinces. The Imperial Government acted from the first without a selfish or unworthy motive, and despite the limitless trouble which the Colonial controversies necessarily created. It was always anxious to conciliate factions, always ready to concede every claim which seemed safe from the standpoint of the time, always desirous of sending good men to administer affairs in an honest and honorable fashion. But the mistake of the Colonial Office was in its failure to preserve continuity of policy, its misfortune was in being subject to party changes at home, its fault—a

very natural one—was in not always understanding the situation clearly.

The Governors of the Colonies in British America were, upon the whole, a splendid class of men. No more honorable and able administrators can be found in the pages of history than Lord Dorchester, Sir Frederick Haldimand, Sir J. Coape Sherbrooke, the Earl of Dalhousie, Sir John Wentworth, Sir Peregrine Maitland, Major-General Simcoe, Sir John Colborne (Lord Seaton), Sir Howard Douglas, or Sir John Harvey. There were exceptions, of course, but even where ability or tact was lacking there is not in all Canadian annals the case of a British Governor guilty of dishonorable or mean public actions—unless it be the conduct of Sir George Prevost in the War of 1812, when acting as a military leader. This is an excellent record in the making of a young country. Yet many of the Governors were intensely unpopular. In Lower Canada the feeling was largely racial, and applied to all who did not come out with the deliberate object of giving the majority everything that they asked for. In the other Provinces it was due to their identification with a party in the Colony—the party of pronounced loyalty and of the power which goes with the possession of office.

It is really hard to see how they could have avoided this. To nearly all of them, from Sir James Craig upward, the French party in Lower Canada meant danger to British interests and supremacy; the Radical party in Upper Canada meant republicanism, American institutions, and annexation efforts which might involve war with the United States. To grant privileges to the more moderate and loyal opposition party in the Maritime Province which it was not deemed wise to give in the Canadas was, of course, impossible. But many of them were not wise in details of administration and in the treatment of opponents; while the fact of having no Premier, or responsible Ministry, left them open to all the ills of personal attack and political bitterness—often a sorry position for the Sovereign's Representative to be placed in.

The governing party in these years stood for much that

Canadians now hold dear. In Lower Canada they believed in the protection of the British minority in a British country, and, judging by the debates in the French House of Assembly and the character of the conflict which eventually developed, the only way this protection could have been maintained in that period of constitutional ignorance and racial bitterness was by the policy of English administration and through the check afforded by an English Council controlling the legislation of a French Assembly. In the other Provinces they stood for a belief, ground into the very marrow of the Loyalists' bones by experience in the American Revolution, that the Governor should have considerable powers, should wield them consistently and firmly, and should give no countenance to democracy. To the dominant party in these years democracy spelt republicanism, and the latter involved everything which they most detested, which they had fought against long and strenuously, and to avoid the results of which they had suffered all the privations of pioneer life. Moreover, they believed themselves, not without reason, to be the makers of English-speaking Canada, and naturally resented the criticism of ignorant and indifferent new-comers and the free antagonism of Radical agitators from other lands.

VIEWS AND MISTAKES OF THE GOVERNING PARTIES

Their mistake was in being too autocratic and exclusive, in not trying to teach the incoming population more of the history of the past, in making the Government appear to the masses as not the representative of a great principle, which in large measure it really and honestly was, but as an oligarchy based upon privilege and formed from a class. On the other hand, the people had much to complain of. In Lower Canada, French Canadians were practically excluded from the Councils and the Bench. There were occasional irregularities in the administration of justice. There was much offensiveness in the autocratic bearing of English appointees to high position. There was natural antagonism between the agricultural and rural interests of the French

and the mercantile and city interests of the English. There was a not unreasonable and intense popular desire to control the purse-strings of the Province. There was objection to the officials holding several positions at the same time, to Judges sitting in the Legislative Council, to a Protestant Bishop sharing in the administration of secular affairs.

Yet the settlement of these matters was rendered difficult, if not impossible, by the position which the French majority in the Assembly assumed. When a Frenchman was offered and accepted a place on the Council, or the Bench, he lost all influence and reputation among his compatriots. When any trivial fault was found to be a fact in the administration of justice, it became the basis for wild and reckless onslaughts upon all the Judges. The exclusiveness of the English minority was well matched by that of the French majority, and all the lavish hospitality and evident good-will of successive Governors could not bring the races together. Over and over again it was proposed by the Government that Judges should be made independent of politics and excluded from seats in the Councils, but the measure always broke upon the rock of the Assembly's concurrent demand to control the payment and amount of their salaries, and, therefore, to control the actual appointments and the Bench itself.

In Upper Canada and in the Provinces by the sea, as new settlers poured in, they found a situation which was naturally not altogether palatable to them. Between 1800 and 1812 a large number of Americans came to Upper Canada. In 1816 disbanded soldiers and officers from the armies which had so long fought Napoleon migrated in large bodies to British America. In 1831, there were 34,000 new settlers, while in the four years preceding 1829 there had been 160,000 of them. Into the Maritime Provinces came a large influx of Scotchmen and not a few Americans. These newcomers were of all schools of thought—Tory and Whig and Radical and Republican. They were of all nationalities—English and Welsh and Scotch and Irish and Americans chiefly. They brought with them aggressive views very fre-

quently out of touch with, if not bitterly opposed to, the opinions of the Loyalist rulers of the country. They found themselves with practically no voice in public affairs owing to the veto of the Legislative Council upon Assembly enactments and the intrenched position of the Loyalists behind a bulwark of prestige, custom, social influence, gradually growing wealth, and the power of the strong and practically established Church of England.

Naturally, the Scotch and English Radicals, all the men who had left the Old Land from motives of discontent, the Irish Catholics, and English Methodists, and the American settlers generally, resented the situation and organized, as time went by, in opposition to it and to the men who ruled the Province. They had much of right on their side, but it was marred in immediate effect and in the eye of impartial history by violence of language and unnecessary fierceness of agitation; by leaders who professed a democracy not far from American republicanism in character; by a disloyalty, among American settlers especially, which showed itself strongly in the stern struggle of 1812 and in the subsequent troubles of 1837; by an utter indifference to the undoubted services of the Loyalists to the country and empire; by demanding impossibilities without clearly knowing what they themselves wanted; by a desire to obtain office at least as strong as the much-abused wish of the dominant party to retain it. In the Maritime Provinces this analysis holds good except that the actively disloyal factor has to be eliminated from the purview as well as something of the violence of agitation and sentiment.

The details of the struggle in the two Canadas which led up to the Rebellion of 1837 and which were fought under the conditions already outlined must be briefly told, though in reality the story is a long and complicated one.* In the

* Two bulky volumes are devoted to the Rebellion in Upper Canada by John Charles Dent, and to the Life of W. L. Mackenzie by Charles Lindsey; while F. X. Garneau has dealt at length with the Lower Canada

Lower Province the racial complication ran through every measure proposed by the Assembly and opposed by the Council, and must always be borne in mind in reading any narrative of the events of that period. The first important conflict began in 1808 with the arrival of Sir James Henry Craig as Governor-General. There had been mutterings of trouble before, demands on the part of the Assembly for fuller control of appointments and of the revenues, and plentiful denunciation of the Council as an alien and intrusive body. Strong accusations of disloyalty and of a desire for absolute French ascendency had been the principal response. The strife was lulled for a time by the alarm of war with the States, but upon its temporary subsidence and the arrival of Sir James Craig it burst forth with redoubled violence. The new Governor was a brave and distinguished soldier, but obstinate and without much tact or the faculty of conciliation. His tendency of thought was to fear the French, to dislike the placing of additional power in their hands, and to feel the full force of the arguments naturally brought before him by his English advisers. The great cry of the moment was the prohibition of Judges sitting in the Councils, and this took up the time of the Assembly to the signal detriment of the questions of defence which the Governor naturally considered as much more important.

The House was dissolved after several sessions of useless recrimination and abuse and came back with a stronger French membership than before. Sir James and the Council stood by the Judges, who were being very bitterly and unjustly handled, and refused to debar them from the body in which their presence was undoubtedly useful in those days of limited culture and independence of position, although alien to the full and free system of to-day. Added disputes arose over the expenditures of the Government—a phrase which in this period meant the Governor and the inner circle of an irre-

troubles. These and many other volumes upon various branches of the subject are valuable to the student, but are nearly always one-sided in treatment thereof.

sponsible Executive—until in despair of obtaining either legislation or peace, the Legislature was again dissolved.

THE DIFFICULTY OF THE GOVERNOR'S POSITION

What was the unfortunate Governor from this time onward to do? He could not give control of all the finances to the Assembly without establishing a Ministry responsible to that body, and this the Home Government could not grant as involving the handing of absolute power in the Province over to a French majority which every day showed itself more aggressive and more anti-British. Moreover, a not inconsiderable portion of the revenue still came from England, or from the army chest, which was more or less under the Governor's control. The election was of the fiercest character. Declamation and proclamation, secret meetings and treasonable newspaper comments, the seizure of "Le Canadian" and imprisonment of particularly violent politicians, followed, until the French press described the period as a "Reign of Terror." The Assembly came back with its French majority increased, Sir James received a rebuke from the Colonial Office—for getting into trouble at a critical time, it may be presumed—and, in the end, the Judges were disqualified from sitting in the Council. But the greater financial issue remained.

The American war now intervened and cast its mingled sunshine and shadow over everything. Loyalty, the power of the Church, a desire to retain their special privileges, antagonism to republican institutions, a measure of appreciation for British generosity, combined in differing degrees of force to throw the French Canadians into the struggle with valuable results to British strength. Internal strife largely ceased during the next two years, and the French Assembly, delighted over the success at Chateauguay, voted Sir George Prevost, as the new Governor-in-Chief, all the grants of money he desired. But when the war was over (before, indeed, it could be called so) the old trouble revived and the Assembly demanded the impeachment of Chief Justice Sewell and Judge Monk on charges of official corruption which could

never be proved and which appear to have been simply the product of a feeling that these men were the principal antagonists to the claims advanced by the popular body. Jonathan Sewell was the leader of the English element in Lower Canada and Chief Justice of the Province from 1808 to 1838. His probity was really above reproach, his character and honor of the highest, his culture and attainments and social qualities most marked. But he was an intense believer in the necessity of English supremacy in the Government of Lower Canada, a vigorous opponent of Roman Catholicism, an unfriendly critic of the French character and pretensions.

The impeachment was not, of course, agreed to by the Legislative Council, and the Governor very properly refused to take it up. The Chief Justice, however, went to England and defied his accusers to prove their allegations at the Colonial Office. They did not attempt to do so in any other court than that of the inflamed public opinion of the Province, and Sewell, after being well received in London, returned to Quebec in natural triumph. He had made his visit memorable in a wider public sense by suggesting and pressing a scheme for the federation of British North America. But the time was, of course, premature. The trouble over the finances now revived. In 1809 the Assembly had offered to pay the expenses of the Civil List in return for a right to eliminate any salaries objected to. As this meant control of the officials by a partisan Assembly and a distinct infraction of the Governor's prerogative, as then understood, the Council had rejected the proposal. Now, in 1816, the Imperial Government suggested a compromise by which the grant of a stated sum was to be made each year—as is now the custom—without changing the items of the grant. For a brief period this plan worked satisfactorily. In 1819, however, an increase was asked and refused. The Appropriation Bill, less the extra amount, was rejected by the Council and a deadlock occurred which was followed by the new election consequent upon the death of King George III.

PAPINEAU A POPULAR ORATOR AND AGITATOR

The popular hero of the moment was now Louis Joseph Papineau. Brilliant in oratory beyond any other product of French Canada, splendid in physique, and popular in manner, democratic in belief, and aristocratic in appearance and birth, rash in utterance and policy, he was eminently the man to stir French passions and prejudices to a white heat and to play upon the ignorance and fancies of the people as a great musician plays upon the hearts of his hearers. He became, in 1820, Speaker of the Assembly, and was in the fullest possession of his great personal powers. At the same time there came to Quebec the Earl of Dalhousie as Governor-General. He was a man of boundless hospitality and kindliness, the most popular, perhaps, of Nova Scotian Governors of this period, the founder of Dalhousie College at Halifax, a well-known patron of agriculture and the arts. In Lower Canada he early established an Agricultural Association and the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec; did everything in his power to continuously encourage improved methods of farming and a better system of education, and tried to get the support of the Assembly in this work; entertained the French and the English and endeavored to bring them together in social intercourse; erected, largely at his own expense, the famous monument in Quebec to the joint honor of Wolfe and Montcalm. Dalhousie was, in short, one of the best Governors the Province ever had, yet he was, also, perhaps the best-hated.

He saw that until a permanent Civil List was voted and the permanent officials of the Crown taken out of the political arena, there could be no peace, and this settlement he at once demanded from the Assembly as a right—in view of the understanding of 1809. Details of the dispute in all its varied phases are unnecessary here. Suffice it that the Assembly peremptorily rejected the proposal and that during the eight succeeding years of Lord Dalhousie's Viceroyalty bitterness and increasing hostility filled the air with clamor and com-

plaint. Papineau led the agitation against the Governor in the House and in the country with an ever-increasing violence of thought and language until the Governor (acting within his legal prerogative and resenting some exceptional personalities of the Speaker) refused to accept him on re-election to that position.

Matters then came to a head, mass meetings were held and huge petitions sent to England. The Parliament there appointed a Committee to investigate the general Canadian situation, and, in 1828, it reported that the wishes of the French Assembly regarding control of the Crown duties, which were levied under the Act of 1774, should be acceded to in return for a permanent Civil List; that Judges and Bishops in all the Provinces should give up their places in the Legislative Councils; that the two Councils in each Province should be enlarged by the appointment of independent members—especially French Canadians in Lower Canada; that Receivers-General should give security and Government accounts be examined by the Assembly's Auditors.

Dalhousie at once resigned and was succeeded by Sir James Kempt, with a special mission of conciliation in Lower Canada. Despite legislation along the line of the Report, he failed, however, to conciliate the still clamorous majority; as did his successor, Lord Aylmer. Rebellion was now in the air, and Papineau was dreaming dreams of a great French-Canadian Republic, and preaching the blessings and benefits of the American system. From the Speaker's chair he thundered forth denunciations of monarchy and British rule. On March 1, 1834, the Assembly passed the famous Ninety-two Resolutions. They spoke, of course, for the French-Canadian party, from which all its moderate leaders had now withdrawn, and reiterated every kind of baseless charge of corruption, fraud, and tyranny against the British Governors and Councilors; demanded immediate and entire control of all lands and revenues; and asked, practically, that the Province, with its Government, its English minority, its moneys and its commerce, be handed over to them. This document,

with the weighty answer of the Montreal Constitutional Association and other English bodies, soon reached London. Lord Gosford, a man of conciliatory but weak disposition, was sent out as Governor-General and as Chairman of a Commission of Inquiry. The Report of the Commission was duly made in 1837, but, meanwhile, Papineau had effectually prevented it from being of any value and had impressed himself more and more upon the minds of the people. Rebellion, in fact, had become inevitable.

Meantime, matters had also developed in Upper Canada through a long process of conflict in politics and confusion in ideas. Men were fighting for equality of opportunities where there was neither equality of conditions, of service to the State, nor of British sentiment—in days when the latter principle was everything to the original settler. They were striving for the acceptance of principles which they did not themselves understand the application of, which had not yet been fully accepted in England, and which were entirely unfitted at the time for the crude institutions or peculiar conditions of a pioneer community. The earliest subject of controversy was the Clergy Reserves. In Upper Canada, two and a half million acres of wild land had been set aside under the enactment of 1791 for the support of a "Protestant Clergy." It was a large body of land, but there was plenty more, and up till the thirties this point did not cause much discussion. The great question was the unfairness of excluding Methodists and Baptists and Presbyterians from sharing in the grant. And from the standards of to-day there was absolute justice in this complaint. Yet at that time the Church of England was, beyond controversy, the State Church of the Province and the correspondence of Simcoe and Dorchester and the Colonial Secretaries, in the years following 1791, indicate clearly that it was the intention of the Imperial Government to make Upper Canada a mirror of the British constitution and in doing so to give it an Established Church.

There was also much in the contention that this was the Church of the bulk of the Loyalists, that it was the pioneer

of missionary work in the English Provinces, that the grants by Parliament and the large sums given by the London Church Missionary Societies were long the only support to religious observance and worship in the country. And the British Government honestly and naturally believed that the best way to encourage Christianity in this new land of vast spaces and few people was to give it a stable constitutional basis and a fixed financial support. Hence the origin of the Clergy Reserves, the consistent support given them by the Tories, and the encouragement afforded to the Church by successive Governors.

Inevitably, also, other denominations, as the population increased, did not like this establishment, and resented the combination of State and Church in one strong social, religious, and political fabric. After a time it was tacitly admitted that the Church of Scotland had a right, as an established body in the Old Land, to share in the proceeds of the Reserves—proceeds which, by the way, were never large, and in the first years of the dispute almost infinitesimal. But the discussion dragged its way through the political field for many years after this period and the Rebellion itself. The material point was that, in some cases, these wild lands, which constituted the seventh lot in every surveyed township, lay unimproved amid surrounding cultivation. Toward the middle of the century this was an important fact and a decided grievance; in the earlier part of the period it certainly could not have been either.

Meanwhile, in 1817, the first Upper Canadian agitator came on the scene. He was a Scotchman named Robert Gourlay, erratic, headstrong, violent, and ultimately insane. He came to the new country as a failure in the old one, found some grievances and imagined others, stormed the ramparts of the Government with vigor and some effect, and soon had a very pretty little controversy in progress. Of course, his conduct was deeply resented by the party in power. He was without stake in the community, or real knowledge of its conditions, and they looked upon him as an impudent interloper.

He was arrested twice and acquitted, then held in jail for seven months on a charge of treason, found guilty by a partisan jury, and expelled from the country. The whole affair was regrettable and his treatment unwise and unjust, but it must be remembered in excuse that just such men had caused the American Revolution and that failure to deal summarily with them in the beginning had made the British cause there a lost one. The Loyalists did not want a repetition of this issue in Canada—and they were living in the beginning of the eighteenth century, not the end!

CENTRAL FIGURES OF A TROUBLOUS PERIOD

The three central figures of the succeeding period were John Beverley Robinson, Dr. John Strachan, and William Lyon Mackenzie. Robinson was a typical Loyalist and Tory, proud of his family and his descent, cultured in attainment, manner, and appearance, honorable in his public dealings, strict in his political code. He had fought in 1812, he had been a vigorous politician for years, and was, up to 1829, the practical ruler of the Province. From that date until 1862, he was its respected Chief Justice and died a baronet of the United Kingdom. Dr. John Strachan was a militant ecclesiastic of an old-time type. Strong and rugged in his views, intensely earnest in his support of the Church of England and the Tory party, a vigorous and continuous fighter in every cause which he took up, a strenuous publicist in voice and pen and work, he was a great power in the land from the beginning of the century until his death in 1867. A member of the Legislative Council and a politician of pronounced weight, Bishop of Toronto for twenty-eight years, founder of the University of Toronto—as King's College and with Church associations—and then of Trinity University, he was, in brief, a man of the most marvelous energy and force of character.

Mackenzie was of a very different type. Enthusiastic and rash in temperament, fickle in his friendship and fancies, without defined standards of right and wrong, violent in his dislikes and prejudices, stubborn at times in pursuit of a

given aim, he was a strange jumble of good and bad—a man as far from being the hero which some of his followers and journalistic admirers have made him as he was from being the villain which his opponents believed him. Poor he always was; honest in his hatred of the "Family Compact," as the Tories were called from the relationship which many of their leading families naturally bore to each other in a limited community, he undoubtedly was; sincere in his vague aspiration after a liberty which too often assumed the form of license, he probably was. But the bitterness and abusiveness of his journalistic style have perhaps never been equaled, the dishonesty of his claim to loyalty was clearly shown in later days, the nature of his democracy found ultimate expression in the fiercest of annexationist proclamations and advocacy. Such were the leading men of this troublous period.

After the disappearance of Gourlay incidents of complaint and friction continued to recur. A British half-pay officer, named Matthews, lost his pension upon report of the Lieutenant-Governor for encouraging some strolling musicians to play American airs. Judge Willis, an English appointee to the Bench, plunged into politics as an intense Radical and with bitter invective against the party in power, and was very properly removed. An innkeeper, named Forsyth, put up a high fence at Niagara, in order to obstruct the view of the Falls, and force people to pay for passing through his grounds to see them. Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Governor, naturally ordered its removal, and upon refusal sent soldiers, who not only tore down the fence, but destroyed a house which was built on the man's private property. Forsyth became a popular hero, the Assembly denounced the action of the Governor, the latter dissolved the House, and was ultimately recalled. His successor, in 1828, was Sir John Colborne, a Peninsular veteran of high character, great courage, and strong convictions.

Gourlay and Matthews, Willis and Forsyth were now the heroes of the Radical party which had for some time past

controlled the Assembly, as did the French in Lower Canada. Mackenzie was the leader of the violent wing, and the invectives and charges of the press under his control grew so violent as to almost justify the arrest and imprisonment of Editors which followed. The fact is that abuse largely took the place of argument, and the attainment of office, or the holding of it, became more an object than the development of a new and workable system of administration. All was confusion of thought and policy among the Oppositionists, while the Government party were at least consistent and united in their antagonism to all change and reform. They were strong because of defined principles and objects; the Reformers—as Radicals and Liberals and Republicans had now come to be called—were weak through the absence of constructive ideas or plans.

In 1830, the moderate Reformers, such as Marshal Spring Bidwell, Robert Baldwin, and the eminent Methodist preacher, writer, educationalist, controversialist, and politician—Dr. Egerton Ryerson—began to repudiate the leadership of Mackenzie. The new Assembly was, therefore, largely Tory in complexion. Absence of tact and the influence of failure now made Mackenzie not only aggressive but insulting, and the much-abused officials took advantage of their majority, and of a technicality, to expel the Radical leader. Four times he was re-elected by his constituents of York and four times expelled. He finally appealed to England, and the Colonial Secretary declared his expulsion illegal. Still, the obstinate and angry majority would not move from its position.

Mackenzie was now the idol of a large part of the people, the Papineau of the Upper Province, though without the eloquence of his prototype. He was elected the first Mayor of York (Toronto) in 1834, and in the same year received a letter from his friend and ally in England, the well-known Joseph Hume, in which the latter declared that the troubles in Canada could only terminate in independence and "freedom from the baleful domination of the Mother-country."

The sentiment was not publicly disapproved by Mackenzie, and from this time onward he entered distinctly upon the down-grade toward rebellion. The new House, however, had a Reform majority, Mackenzie was made Chairman of a "Special Committee of Grievances," and its Report, presented in 1835, was approved by the Assembly and forwarded to England as a strong presentation of the situation from the standpoint of the Reformer. Anxious, as usual, to conciliate, the Imperial Government recalled Colborne as they had done Maitland and Dalhousie. It was a repetition of the not infrequent folly of removing the instrument without changing the policy.

Only drastic measures of change could now have done any good, and conditions in Lower Canada made a responsible Ministry out of the question—even if matters had been sufficiently advanced to warrant its establishment in Upper Canada. The new Lieutenant-Governor was Sir Francis Bond Head, a Liberal in Home politics, an excitable and honest man, an administrator with fervent views upon the value of British connection, a natural ally of the Loyalist party in the Colony. There followed an immediate conflict. The Assembly was dissolved, Papineau wrote to Mackenzie a letter which was distinctly republican in tone, the Governor appealed to the people to support the throne, the connection with England and the institutions of their fathers, and the hottest fight in the early history of the Province resulted in a Tory victory and in the personal defeat of Mackenzie, Bidwell, Rolph, and other leading Reformers. The issue was now clear, and Mackenzie deliberately prepared for what he fantastically hoped would be another Revolution—the birth of another American Republic.

CONTROVERSIES IN OTHER PLACES

Meanwhile, in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, constitutional controversies had arisen, but they were milder in character than those of Upper Canada, though not dissimilar in origin. The division between classes was not drawn so

sharply, the immigration of Americans was not so considerable as in the Upper Province, and there was no racial controversy as in Lower Canada. Between 1816 and 1828, Lord Dalhousie and Sir James Kempt governed in Nova Scotia with reasonable moderation and success. They devoted themselves to questions of material and educational development and the promotion of Church of England interests and influence. This latter point was, indeed, a cardinal principle of all the Governors of this period and in the administration of nearly all British Colonies. Their advisers constituted an oligarchy, but not an offensive one, and it was only in 1830 that a really severe controversy began between the Assembly and the Council upon a question of taxation. In the end, and after a general election, the latter body yielded.

Then came trouble over the management of local affairs in Halifax, a dispute with the Council which involved the freedom of the press, and the rise, in 1835, from obscurity into sudden fame of the greatest Nova Scotian of early history—Joseph Howe. A journalist by profession, he defended himself against the charge of criminal libel with an eloquence and force which submerged his opponents, carried the jury, won the masses of the people to his side, and made him a popular idol. Howe at once entered the Assembly, together with Reformers such as William Young, Huntington, and O'Connor Doyle, and introduced his famous "Twelve Resolutions" condemning the constitution and procedure of the Legislative Council and inaugurating an active campaign against the existing system of administration. They were carried, but subsequently withdrawn. Then came the accession of Queen Victoria and the Rebellion elsewhere—the latter being as strongly denounced by Howe as it could have been by a Beverley Robinson or a Jonathan Sewell.

In New Brunswick the struggle between the two Houses began with the century, and the details are too trivial and wearisome to record in any general review of a situation which was very similar to that already described. Sir How-

ard Douglas came out as Lieutenant-Governor in 1824, and, during the seven years of his administration, there was a comparative calm. The lumber interest and shipbuilding industry had overshadowed agriculture, and the new Governor devoted himself to promoting the latter and improving the very backward condition of education. To this latter end he founded the present University of New Brunswick. He also had to face the drought of 1825 and the terrible forest fires which terminated in the destruction of the town of Miramichi and a loss of four millions of dollars in goods and property and timber. Then came the boundary quarrel with Maine. Meantime, Lemuel Allen Wilmot had attained distinction as a Reformer, and become as conspicuous in his own Province as Howe and Mackenzie and Papineau were in theirs. Sir Archibald Campbell, the next Governor, found himself face to face with the old and familiar troubles of revenue control and Council combination.

Sundry reforms were inaugurated, the Executive and Legislative Councils were separated, and, after vigorous opposition from the Governor, the Colonial Office, in 1836, ordered the transfer of control over all revenues to the Assembly, and advised that members of the latter body be called to the Executive. Sir Archibald resigned rather than accede to this mandate, but his successor—the judicious, wise, and liberal Sir John Harvey—was only too glad to support the change. Thus, New Brunswick became the first Province to establish the principle of popular control over public moneys, although the responsible Executive was again postponed by the Rebellion in the Canadas. Cape Breton, in 1820, had become finally a part of Nova Scotia, and contributed to its public life an active and capable representative in the person of Richard J. Uniacke. In little Prince Edward Island there was no popular government at this time, and not very much of an attempt at it. The estates of the Island were in the hands of English owners, and its affairs were largely controlled by them through the Governors, while the bulk of the population were tenants of the distant landholders.

CHAPTER XI

THE TROUBLES OF 1837-38

THE year which commenced the remarkable reign of Queen Victoria saw enacted in the Canadas a drama which had much influence upon the destinies of the future Dominion. The Rebellion which takes up so much space in Canadian history was not in itself a great event. Its two chief leaders were men of the brilliant irresponsibility of character so typical of similar spirits everywhere, and the majority of its adherents were sincere and honest in their opinions. Its battles, however, were insignificant, its following, in a military sense, trivial, and its immediate results unimportant. Yet the event stands out in the mind of the Canadian public as the cause and origin of free government in this country. How far that impression is correct the facts alone will indicate and the story is certainly one of interest.

HOW THE TROUBLE BEGAN

By the early part of 1837 the events already described had reached a climax in both the Canadas, while the issue in the Maritime Provinces had been greatly simplified by the absence of any actual sedition and by the strength of character and loyalty of sentiment of the great Nova Scotian orator and leader, Joseph Howe. In Lower Canada the Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry had been made public after presentation to the British Parliament and was found to be largely academic in its nature. Lord John Russell, as Colonial Secretary, promptly followed it up with a measure authorizing the Governor-General to take £142,000 from the Provincial Treasury and thus pay the arrears of salary and other indebtedness which had accumulated during the five years in which the Assembly had refused to vote supplies.

At the same time it was intimated by the British Government that the proposal of the French for an elective Council was inadmissible as it would give the absolute control of the popular side of the Government into the hands of one race; and for practically the same reason the establishment of a responsible Executive Council was declared to be undesirable. Not even the Liberals of England were prepared to place the full power of rule in the hands of a racial majority which talked and legislated as did the followers of Papineau.

THE EXCITEMENT INCREASES

The result, however, was deplorable. The Montreal organ of the rising tide of rebellion—"The Vindicator"—declared that: "Henceforth there must be no peace in the Province—no quarter for the plunderers. Agitate! Agitate! Agitate! Destroy the revenue! Denounce the oppressors! Everything is lawful when the fundamental liberties are in danger." Meetings of the wildest character were held on the banks of the St. Lawrence and the Richelieu. Papineau paraded among the people whom his oratory stirred into a white heat of patriotism and racial pride, and seemed for a time to really hold the Province in the hollow of his hand. Lord Gosford finally awoke to the apparent seriousness of the issue, and in the late spring issued a proclamation of warning against the dangers of sedition and the folly of the course which was being pursued. Derision and shouts of "Long live Papineau, Our Deliverer," was the popular response; the organization of societies called "Sons of Liberty" was the reply of the young Frenchmen in Montreal and elsewhere; demands involving the practical withdrawal of British authority from Lower Canada was the answer of the Assembly. The House was at once dissolved, and amid strong appeals from the Church and the hasty organization of the British minority, the Rebellion commenced.

Owing very largely to the influence of the Roman Catholic Bishops and clergy the ensuing insurrection was not a general one. Bishop Lartigue, of Montreal, issued a memorable

"Mandement" on October 24th to the people of his Diocese and was supported strongly in its presentation of views by Bishop Signay of Quebec. This document denounced the rebel leaders as "evil-minded men"; declared that "both human and divine laws rise up in condemnation of those who by schemes of sedition and revolt endeavor to shake allegiance to Princes"; pointed out the horrors of civil war and the dangers of seed sown in the days of the French Revolution; condemned unbridled liberty and eulogized the rights of authority. There is no doubt of the wide influence exerted by these opinions and by the command to avoid open participation in the rising. Though the clergy had taken no pronounced part in keeping the people away from the sound of Papineau's burning eloquence and the temptations of his policy—perhaps it would have been impossible to do so—they now did everything in their power to hold them back from the extremity of insurrection and even suggested to the Executive Council the discussion of a compromise. But it was now too late to avert bloodshed and a year or more of factious disorder.

Meanwhile, in Upper Canada, events had been proceeding with similar rapidity, though not with the same degree of seriousness. There, the minority in favor of actual violence was very small, though very noisy. Mackenzie was not as big a man in either brains or body as was Papineau, and the class he had to draw upon for sedition was infinitely smaller than in Lower Canada. His newspaper, however, was clever in its insistent bitterness and continuous denunciation; while the real abuses which existed gave excuse for strong opposition to the powers of the day, though in Upper, as in Lower, Canada they did not give sufficient ground for rebellion.

On July 31, 1837, Mackenzie published in his paper, "The Constitution," a document which he called the Reformer's Declaration of Rights and it affords a pretty clear statement of his position. It was, in the first place, based upon the style of the American Declaration of Independence and had much the same end in view, although it was much more vio-

lent and infinitely less dignified than the apparent source of its inspiration. It teemed with references such as that to the "baneful domination" of Great Britain and the "mockery of human government" under which "we have been insulted, injured, and brought to the brink of ruin." Many moderate Liberals laughed at it. Ryerson, Baldwin, Bidwell, and other Liberal leaders sharply denounced it. Sir Francis Bond Head looked upon it as the mere froth and foam of an agitation which must come to a head—and the sooner the better. Mackenzie went on with his wild work of drilling small bodies of men and organizing "vigilance committees" to carry afar the doctrines of his "Declaration" with its list of grievances, its repudiation of British allegiance, its pronouncement in favor of the rebels of Lower Canada and its fervent sympathy with American institutions.

The Lieutenant-Governor responded to these menaces with a quiet contempt and a perfect assurance in the loyalty of the masses of the people for which he has been frequently condemned. So strongly did he feel the futility and farcical nature of the whole movement that he sent all the regular troops in the Province down to Lower Canada, where they appeared to be greatly needed, and expressed his intention to depend upon the loyal volunteers and militia of the Province —a dependence which was certainly not misplaced and a policy which seems to have been justified by the result. He believed that some sort of a rising was inevitable and that until it took place, and the steam of existing discontent was blown off in the fiasco which must follow, there would be neither peace nor order in the land. The sooner it took place the better, therefore, and the less British troops had to do with its suppression the better also for future loyalty among the people as a whole. In this he was right, and in the belief that the Province would never prosper until certain agitators were removed from the sphere of popular influence, he was also right. Such was the situation in the two Canadas when the flash of folly, which has been termed the Rebellion of 1837, took place.

BEGINNING OF THE REBELLION

The Rebellion began in Lower Canada in October, 1837, and the centre of disaffection was the country along the banks of the Richelieu. At St. Charles, the half-armed, partially drilled, and utterly deceived *habitants* gathered in force. At St. Denis, nearby, was a similar body under Dr. Wolfred Nelson, a Montreal physician who had early enrolled himself under the inflammatory banner of Papineau. Sir John Colborne, who had come back to Canada as Commander-in-Chief, sent expeditions to scatter the rebels at these points. St. Denis was attacked by a force under Colonel Gore, which, amid circumstances of considerable difficulty, was temporarily repulsed. St. Charles was easily occupied by Colonel Weatherell, and the rebels scattered like chaff. Meanwhile, a small body of loyal cavalry had been attacked between these places and Lieutenant Weir captured by a French contingent. In trying to escape he was shot and then hacked to pieces under conditions of extreme brutality. His murderers were afterward tried but acquitted by a French jury. News of the success at St. Charles soon reached St. Denis, and the French there melted away without giving fresh trouble to the British troops.

At St. Eustache, north of Montreal, a few rebels made a brave and determined stand under Dr. Chenier; and not until the church in which they were fighting had fallen in blazing ruins about their heads did the deluded peasants try to escape. It was then too late, however, and nearly all died —including their leader, to whom, many years afterward, the French people of Montreal raised a statue. This was the end of the actual insurrection, although Nelson and Coté and a few other leaders crossed the American frontier, issued proclamations announcing a new republic, and, in 1838, gathered together large bands of raiders for the purpose of invasion. On the Beauharnois Canal they destroyed a steamer and, taking advantage of Lord Durham's leniency during his few months' administration, nearly provoked another rebellion.

At Laprairie, Nelson succeeded in getting 2,000 men together, but Colborne at once sent a large force against him, and, after an encounter at Odelltown, he fled back to the States. Colborne was now Governor-General, and was determined that there should be no more doubt as to the substantial difference between loyalty and treason.

Courts-Martial were established—the Habeas Corpus Act being meantime suspended—the principal rebels were tried, forty-nine of them condemned to transportation and eighty to death. Only eleven actually suffered the extreme penalty, and they were selected from men who had deliberately attempted to raise rebellion a second time after having been once pardoned, or who had committed personal crimes in addition to acts of treason. Papineau, Nelson, O'Callaghan, and Brown, who had fled to the States at an early stage of the rising, were convicted of high treason. Papineau went to live in France and in 1844 was allowed to return to Canada without attracting attention—only to find his influence gone and his reputation a mere shadow of the greatness which had fled forever in the flame of his own folly.

The object of the whole agitation and action in Lower Canada had become clear as the Rebellion approached, and Lord Gosford, writing to the Colonial Secretary on September 2, 1837, had declared that: "It is evident the Papineau faction will not be satisfied until the English Government have put it in a position to carry its projects into execution; viz., the separation of this country from England and the proclamation of a republic." The farce of constitution-mongering and claims for a system which the leaders did not understand and only wanted for employment against British influence and authority was now over; and the bubble created by brilliant rhetoric playing upon French passions and prejudices was pricked by the stand of the Church and the sound of British cannon. The hierarchy, indeed, took strong ground in their condemnation. "What misery, what desolation," exclaimed the Bishop of Montreal, "is spread broadcast through many of our fields and homes since the scourge of

civil war has ravaged a happy country where abundance and joy reigned, with order and safety, before brigands and rebels by force of sophistries and lies had led astray a part of the population."

The responsibility for what occurred rests with the men thus characterized by their own Church; with men such as Papineau, Coté, Nelson, O'Callaghan, and Chenier. As Dr. N. E. Dionne, the cultured Provincial Librarian at Quebec, has well said: "All these are the true culprits, and, I dare say, the only culprits."* But the ignorant suffered for the machinations and the crazy ambitions of the cultured. Blame must also be laid upon men who afterward became prominent and loyal citizens, but who in their youthful days succumbed to the brilliancy and fascination of Papineau and fell victims to his folly—men such as Sir George Etienne Cartier, the Hon. A. N. Morin, the Hon. D. B. Viger, Sir L. H. Lafontaine, and others who followed their leader to the verge of rebellion and then shrank back from the full fruition of his policy.

In Upper Canada, during this period, the insurrection had been equally futile and still more feeble. When the rising commenced in Lower Canada matters were in readiness, as far as they could ever be under the hopeless circumstances of the case, in the Upper Province. A series of two hundred meetings had been addressed by Mackenzie in fiery and uncontrollable language; drilling and rifle shooting had been freely practiced; and, in November, 1,500 persons had volunteered for active service who were stated to be efficiently trained. Arrangements were then made to march a force upon Toronto, to seize the Lieutenant-Governor and 4,000 muskets which were kept in the City Hall under the protection of a small guard of volunteers, and to proclaim a republic with Dr. John Rolph—a clever, adroit politician, who had so far kept upon both sides of the fence—as Provisional President.

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* Article in "Canada: An Encyclopædia of the Country," vol. 3.

THE RISING IN UPPER CANADA

It was thought that after this had been consummated the rest of the Province would accept the new constitution without further trouble. A more vain and silly project, upon the surface, was never hatched in a treasonable brain. The excuse for it, however, is that help was expected and promised, and afterward given when too late, from the States. Meanwhile, on December 4th, after gathering at a place called Montgomery's Tavern in such force as they could muster, the rebels marched upon the city only to take alarm at the appearance of a picket of volunteer troops and to hastily retreat. During the next few days, however, their numbers increased to some 1,000 men, armed with guns, scythes, pitchforks, axes, and anything they could lay their hands upon. Colonel Moodie, a Peninsular veteran, and a much respected citizen, attempted to ride through their lines with the soldier's characteristic contempt for a mob in arms, and was shot dead. But Toronto was now ready for them; every man of influence and nearly every citizen was shouldering his musket, from the Chief Justice down; and loyal militia, including the gallant "Men of Gore," as the Hamilton volunteers were called, were pouring in from all directions. On December 7th, Colonel (afterward Sir A. N.) McNab marched out to attack the rebel force. It was under the command of Samuel Lount, a blacksmith by occupation, and had been drilled for some time by Colonel Van Egmond, an old-time officer in the French army under Napoleon. The Lieutenant-Governor offered the insurgents a last chance to surrender and to give up the mad attempt at rebellion. It was refused by Mackenzie, and the 500 militia under McNab, dressed in homespun, but none the less inspired with traditions of Britain's thin red line, advanced to the attack. After a single hot exchange of fire and a slight skirmish the fight was over and the rebels scattered.

Like Papineau, Mackenzie fled at the first shot, and, after various adventures, reached the American frontier. At

Navy Island, above Niagara Falls, he established his mockery of a government, and soon sympathizers from both sides of the line were flocking to join him. At Toronto, militia and volunteers continued to arrive in such numbers as to actually embarrass the Governor, and to most fully prove the wisdom of his belief that the Province would stand by him when the inevitable rising took place. Some of them were sent under McNab to watch the rebels at Navy Island, and, incidentally, seized a steamer called the *Caroline,* which was supplying Mackenzie with munitions of war, from under the guns of an American fort, and sent her blazing over the Falls of Niagara. Many months later, after the sympathies of the border cities of the United States had exhausted the supply of men and arms and material available for the insurrection, the President issued a proclamation warning the people against attacking a friendly State. Mackenzie, meantime, had left Navy Island, and was arrested and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment by an Albany (N. Y.) jury.

But conspiracies in American cities went on, so-called Hunter's Lodges were organized and drilled in large bodies of men, and invaded the Canadian Provinces at different times and places during the ensuing two years. It was a desultory and guerilla warfare which lacked organization and a leader with brains, but none the less did it cause the Governments of Upper and Lower Canada much worry and expense, and the border settlements much of suffering and natural fear. From Ogdensburg, Buffalo, and Detroit expeditions were sent, one numbering 1,500 filibusters and rebels, but all were routed or driven back by the mere report of advancing militia. At Prescott, across the St. Lawrence and near Kingston, a band of raiders under the Polish refugee, Von Schultz, were attacked in one of the stone mills of the neighborhood, in which they had taken refuge, and, after a vigorous resistance, were captured by a British and Canadian force. The occasion of the succeeding trial was notable for the defence of Von Schultz by a young lawyer named John

A. Macdonald and for its being his first case. The leader, however, and eleven of his followers were convicted and hanged.

The most notable of these incidents was the last. In December, 1839, there marched through the crowded and cheering streets of Detroit a band of 450 raiders on their way to capture the Canadian town of Windsor, on the opposite side of the river. They did so, burning a vessel and some houses, capturing a small guard of militia and murdering a peaceful citizen who refused to join their ranks. Then they marched to Sandwich, and met their fate in the person of Colonel John Prince—a Loyalist of the Loyalists, a stern soldier of the old school, a man with an utter contempt for rebels, and one who cared nothing for the fickle fancies of public opinion when a matter of duty appeared before him With 200 men he met and routed the invaders, and, in consequence of finding the body of a respected surgeon named Hume, who had been wantonly killed by the rebels, he ordered four prisoners to the front and had them shot. It was stern justice, and afterward met with condemnation from the many people who seem to think that invasions and wars and rebellions can be put down with rose-water. Colonel Prince cared nothing for this kind of clamor, nor did Sir George Arthur, the new Lieutenant-Governor in place of Sir Francis Bond Head. When the final trials were over, the latter deliberately allowed the law to take its course, and two of the rebel leaders—Lount and Matthews — who had failed to escape to the States, were executed as a result of their conviction and sentence.

RESULTS OF THE RISING

This was the end of the trouble in the Upper Province. It had never been a serious rising as regards numbers, or influence, or possible result. It had brought good out of evil by creating a reaction against the irresponsible utterances of demagogues, which were as injurious to the country, even from the standpoint of present beliefs, as was the irresponsible

government of men who were at least honorable and honest. It had shown the rock-bottom of popular loyalty beneath all the froth and foam of foolish public speeches. It had separated the moderate and loyal Reformers, or Liberals, who were willing to work and wait for changes which were bound to come in time, from the fantastic advocates of independence and republicanism. It had made clear the fact that a rebellion upon American soil is not always successful, and it had once more shown how right the Loyalists were in fearing American influence upon Canadian politics and government. It had proved that nothing was to be gained by violence, and that the best way to obtain honest reform was not by abusing an honest opponent, but by presenting to the people a plain and loyal policy in opposition to the clearly understood Toryism of the dominant party.

The Rebellion did not bring about responsible government. The Imperial authorities had already admitted the principle in New Brunswick, and it was only the personal opposition of Sir Archibald Campbell and the coming menace of insurrection elsewhere that delayed its adoption. In conjunction with the preceding violence and disloyalty of Papineau and Mackenzie and their associates, the Rebellion retarded rather than advanced the consummation of popular government. The whole correspondence of this period between the Governors and the Colonial Office reveals a sensitive desire to conciliate Canadian Frenchmen and Canadian Radicals. The recall of Governor after Governor indicates still further the strength of this feeling, and there is little doubt that had the agitation for responsible government been conducted with moderation, and based upon a genuine conception of what was wanted, the desired result would have come, not only without rebellion and with pleasure on the part of the Home Government, but without the years of friction which were still to follow.

So far as Great Britain was concerned, concession after concession had been made. The constitution, under the terms of the Act of 1791, allowed the union of Church and

State, but the principle was not pressed, except by the personal influence of the Governors, and did not ultimately prevail. The exclusive privileges claimed by the Church of England were not maintained. The connection of the Judges with the Legislative Councils were severed. Obnoxious laws were repealed and minor causes of complaint removed. The Indian administration under Imperial auspices was admirable, and large sums were paid from the British Exchequer for Indian maintenance. The expense of keeping large military forces in the country, as a result of the unpleasant feeling in the States, was borne as cheerfully as had been the enormous cost of the War of 1812. Popular rights of public meeting had been fully granted despite the opposition of the governing class. A tax had been placed on wild lands, so as to prevent their being held by speculators. Commission after Commission had come out to try and solve a situation which the men on the spot did not fully understand, and which the Colonial Office can hardly be blamed for not finding as clear as daylight.

In the Maritime Provinces, the only effect of the Rebellion had been to produce an echo of the loyalty shown in Upper Canada by the masses, and in Lower Canada by the Church and the classes. Major-General Sir John Harvey, in New Brunswick, had offered his Legislature and Sir John Colborne to lead the militia of the Province against the rebels, if help should be needed, and declared to the latter that he could depend upon New Brunswick to a man. The Legislature afterward expressed its thanks to Sir Francis Bond Head and the gallant volunteers of Upper Canada for what they had done in suppressing the insurrection. The Nova Scotia authorities also offered men and money.

Now, however, that the serious troubles were over others seemed inevitable. The constitution in Lower Canada had been suspended, the two Provinces were under the government of strong military men such as Colborne and Arthur, the Upper Canadian Tories were triumphant at the polls and apparently intrenched in power for a long time to come,

the French Canadians were silent and somewhat sullen, the English Radicals and American Republicans were scattered and broken in influence. This situation clearly could not last long, and it required a man of exceptional ability to reorganize affairs and to straighten out the complicated issues of the time. That man came in the person of Lord Durham.

CHAPTER XII

LORD DURHAM AND THE UNION OF THE CANADAS

ONE of the most picturesque and, perhaps, the most commanding of figures in Canadian history is that of John George Lambton, Earl of Durham. Of high political reputation at home and with a future in which the Liberal Premiership was supposed to be within his reach, of attractive and striking personality and with an Earldom won by services to the state, he flashed like a meteor over the disturbed scene of Canadian affairs in 1838. Within a period of six months he illumined the prolonged record of Canadian controversy and agitation with a brilliantly comprehensive Report in which he laid down the principles of Colonial constitutional government for the first and for all time; provided a policy upon which the administration of a great Empire is to-day based; earned a reputation which is world-wide in extent. Then he returned home in a sudden burst of passion to die a disappointed death within a few months and without realizing the great place he had made for himself in the annals of his country.

THE RIGHT MAN IN THE RIGHT PLACE

Delicate in health, sensitive and high-strung in temperament, imperious in conduct and manner, he was eminently fitted to shine in some great Eastern pro-consulate where power would have been in his own hands and the petty pinpricks of political enemies and critics would not have con-

tinually wounded his personal feelings. He was not suited to the conflicts of public life, and despite his position and brilliant abilities could never have really reached the position which his friends had hoped for him. Yet, for Canada, strange as it may seem, he was, at the moment of his coming, the right man in the right place.

The popular respect for the Queen's Representative which was usually shown, if not always felt, had been somewhat injured by the prolonged and savage attacks of Papineau upon Dalhousie and Gosford, and of Mackenzie upon Sir Francis Bond Head, and Lord Durham provided a splendid and stately setting for the position. Too many of the Governors-General had received scant support in their policy from the Colonial Office, and their limited powers, or quickly changed instructions, had prevented continuity of administration and system. Lord Durham came, it was announced, with full authority to settle the country, to assuage animosities and to prevent further trouble—by the strong hand if necessary.

HIS POLICY AND SHORT ADMINISTRATION

The Tories and Loyalists were pleased with his dignity of demeanor, his great reticence, his stately ceremonial wherever he went, his evident earnestness and unremitting industry. The Liberals and discontented section were charmed with his reputation for Liberalism, his refusal to come under the control of the dominant party, and his keen investigation of grievances. The French were more easily and naturally impressed by the splendor of his hospitality and viceregal state than perhaps any other part of the population.

Hence it was that when Lord Durham landed at Quebec on May 29, 1838, as the special High Commissioner of his Sovereign and as Governor-General of all British America, he entered upon what seemed to promise a pre-eminently successful administration amid conditions of admitted difficulty. He reorganized temporarily the government of Lower Canada; but without the constitution which had been suspended

by Sir John Colborne. He had with him an excellent staff, chief of whom was Mr. Charles Buller, and these men joined in conducting the inquiries which were initiated in every direction. With restless energy he, himself, traveled over the country, investigated every possible grievance, wrote innumerable despatches, and charmed every one with a boundless hospitality. A meeting of the Lieutenant-Governors of the various Provinces was called and much was learned from the discussions and explanations which followed; while Lord Durham, with an eye upon the far-distant future, which then seemed as impossible as a federation of South Africa seems difficult to-day, suggested the federated union of all the Provinces as a policy which would ensure peace and progress.

His great trouble, however, was with the prisoners who crowded the jails of the country and with the rebel leaders who had escaped and might return at any moment to renew disturbance and promote discontent. Complete amnesty he deemed unwise, and, as it eventually turned out, his alleged harshness was not sufficient to prove a necessary warning. The less important prisoners were freed upon promise of good behavior, but with the ringleaders who had escaped to the States he could do nothing except prohibit their return under penalties. From the general amnesty he also excluded eight prisoners of whom the chief was Dr. Wolfred Nelson. There being no trial by jury in the Province of Lower Canada, as a result of the suspension of its constitution, no possibility of such a thing under existing popular opinion, and no law covering the state of the case, Lord Durham took the matter into his own hands as Judge and jury, and, with a legitimate belief that his full and yet vague authority entitled him to discretionary action, banished these eight rebels to Bermuda on pain of execution for high treason should they return.

Then came the complication which seems to have been inevitable whenever a strong ruler in Colonial history has struck out a strong policy for himself, and, therefore, come into conflict with a weak or ignorant Colonial Minister at

home. Lord Dorchester and Lord Dalhousie in Canada had already suffered in this way and Sir George Grey and Sir Bartle Frere are memorable instances in South Africa. Such weakness is not likely to exist or to be influential again, under present conditions, but it served to ruin the happiness and the life-work of this sincere and sensitive statesman. His action was irregular but could easily have been made regular. The Governor of Bermuda claimed that he had no authority to hold the prisoners. The antagonists of Lord Durham in the British Parliament, and chief among them the brilliant, bitter, and erratic personality of Lord Brougham, inveighed strongly against the policy as illegal and unjustifiable; the Imperial Government unfairly and unwisely weakened under an attack which should have been honestly and vigorously met, and disallowed the decree; Lord Durham threw up his office with indignation, issued a proclamation declaring that he had been unsupported in his necessary punishment of notorious rebels, and returned home without waiting for a recall or for the receipt of his resignation in London. It was not statesmanship to give way to such a sudden sentiment of rage, however justified by the supineness of those who should have stood by him. But the action was little more than a spot on the sun of his real success. He had practically done his great work. His Report on the condition of British America was well in hand, and doubtless was largely added to during the long, slow voyage home, and a reputation thus secured in the pages of history greater than that won by the brilliant vagaries of a Brougham or the gay and almost forgotten *bonhommie* of a Melbourne.

Still, he had to encounter the coldness of official sentiment as shown in the refusal to accord him the usual salute on the arrival of his ship and to chafe under the ignorant criticism of clever men in the Houses of Parliament. He had to face a situation which his proud spirit could not brook, which the kindly reception of the populace could not counteract, which the knowledge of being in the right could not assuage; and within a few months the delicate, warm-hearted, impulsive,

and brilliantly capable nobleman had passed away, leaving a document which is enshrined in the annals of liberty and constitutional rule. It was communicated to the British Parliament on February 11, 1839, and composes, with its numerous appendices and subsidiary reports, a most elaborate study of the early political history of British America—a voluminous and most valuable summary of conditions and sentiments and tendencies in the Provinces. As a result of six months' labor and experience it is marvelous in scope and character; as a correct and impartial statement and prophetic picture of the future, it is still more so.

THE DURHAM REPORT

Of course, all Lord Durham's conclusions and assertions were not accurate; and mistakes are to be found and sins of omission and commission easily proven. Sir Francis Bond Head, Bishop Strachan, and Sir John Beverley Robinson, from the standpoint of the Loyalist and Tory, found much to criticise and certainly did their duty up to the hilt. The French Canadians found reason for copious denunciation and to this day the name of Durham is hardly one to conjure with in Quebec. It was quite impossible to please both Tory and Liberal in Canada and his advocacy of responsible government might be justly expected to antagonize the former. It was also impossible to please the French at this juncture and especially when recommending the union of the Canadas. Yet, the strength of his statements regarding the population of Lower Canada was the one great error in the Report. It did not invalidate the value of his recommendations or control greatly his conclusions, but it had the effect of weakening the influence of his whole policy in the French Canada of the future.

He seems to have felt intensely the unworthiness of the attitude assumed by the French Assembly. From its point of view he declared the English were a foreign and a hostile race; settlement and immigration were to be checked as tending to the possible aggrandizement of these aliens; taxes were not to be imposed for purposes of development, or for such

objects as the improvement of Montreal Harbor, because the expenditure might benefit English interests; applications for banks and railways and canals were to be put aside for similar reasons; the Feudal tenure must be supported and persisted in because it was a French institution; a tax on immigrants should be advocated and largely supported; while any measure retarding English purposes or checking English investment would be certain of approval. All this was true enough, but it hardly justified the following conclusion: "Nor do I exaggerate the inevitable constancy any more than the intensity of this animosity. Never again will the present generation of French Canadians yield a loyal submission to a British Government; never again will the English population tolerate the authority of a House of Assembly in which the French shall possess, or even approximate to, a majority."

However, good came of error, and the very strength of Durham's belief in the disloyal sentiment of the French race in Lower Canada led him to seek a solution of the problem in the merging of the French in that Province with the English in the other Provinces. Failing the immediate fruition of this far-seeing policy of a federal union, he pressed the proposal to unite Upper and Lower Canada. He believed that this policy would cause parties which were divided on racial or sectarian lines to be reconstituted upon questions of general development and local interest. The one race would balance the other, one Church influence would be offset by another, and new combinations and conditions would change, for the better, the whole surface of society. It might not be so at once, and during the existing generation he did not anticipate much difference or change in the sentiment of Lower Canada, but in the end the result was reasonably certain.

His analysis of the constitutional issue was masterly. He caught up all the vague threads of thought upon the subject as they floated through the controversies of years; sifted the discussion of extraneous matters which had clouded the real issue; cleared the air of many misunderstandings upon the one side and of dense prejudices on the other. He enabled

the Liberals to eventually evolve in some clearness the principles they were so blindly groping after and the Tories to understand the policy free from many of their natural suspicions, though not from their equally natural aversions. He enabled the Colonial Office to perceive that there might be some workable and loyal method of enlarging the scope and character of Colonial institutions without encouraging republicanism and secession.

The presentation of the policy was its own recommendation. It involved a reconstructed system in which, by steady stages of development, the Colonies were to have complete self-government—including a Legislature with the same powers in Provincial money matters as the British Parliament had in Home affairs and a Ministry responsible to the Legislature for the conduct of public matters in the same way as the Imperial Government was at home. It does not appear that Lord Durham expected all this to be achieved in a day, or a session, in any of the Provinces; to say nothing of it being done in the stormy season which must follow the union of the Canadas. But upon the point of its necessity he was firmly convinced: "I know not how it is possible to secure harmony in any other way than by administering the Government on those principles which have been found perfectly efficacious in Great Britain. I would not impair a single prerogative of the Crown; on the contrary, I believe that the interests of the people of these Provinces require the protection of prerogatives which have not hitherto been exercised. But the Crown must, on the other hand, submit to the necessary consequences of representative institutions; and if it has to carry on the government in unison with a representative body, it must consent to carry it on by means of those in whom that representative body has confidence." *

The ceaseless struggle between Executive and Legislative functions and bodies must be changed into harmonious and combined action. "While the present state of things is allowed to last the actual inhabitants of these Provinces have

* The Durham Report, page 106.

no security for person or property, no enjoyment of what they possess, no stimulus to industry." The Report gave, indeed, a most gloomy picture of existing conditions, and especially so in its comparison of the progress on the American side of the line with the stagnation on the Canadian border. To summarize the Report, as a whole, it may be said that he deprecated the continuous and injurious political agitation, denounced the character and motives of the French-Canadian leaders and many of their people, proposed union of the Canadas as a partial cure to the evils in the Lower Province, urged the creation of responsible Ministries in all the Provinces as a panacea for constitutional troubles, proposed the building of the present Inter-Colonial Railway from Halifax to Quebec as a means of drawing the Provinces together, and advocated the establishment of municipal institutions as a means of guarding local interests and advancing political experience and knowledge.

RESULTS OF THE REPORT

Though the writer of the document was put to one side by the dictate of destiny, his opinions were at once embodied, to a considerable extent, in an Act of the British Parliament which Lord John Russell introduced in June, 1839. Sir John Colborne, who had been acting as Governor-General since the departure of Lord Durham, was now replaced by Mr. Charles E. Poulett Thomson, M. P., and returned home to become eventually Lord Seaton and a Field Marshal in the army. Mr. Thomson, who was soon to be known as Lord Sydenham of Sydenham and Toronto, was a Liberal in politics and a shrewd, careful, and diplomatic administrator. He rapidly made himself familiar with the complicated situation and got into touch with interests and personages hitherto far removed from the purview of the Governor-General's attention, although of great importance in the settlement of affairs. He arrived at Montreal in November and found the situation somewhat simplified by the fact that the proposals contained in Lord J. Russell's Bill did not have to run the

gantlet of French approval—excepting that of a few Seigneurs included in the Council which had governed the Province under Durham and Colborne during the previous two years. This body readily accepted the principle of union with Upper Canada which it declared of "indispensable and urgent necessity."

In December, he achieved the exceedingly difficult step of passing a favorable motion through the Legislature of Upper Canada, which, at this time, was fully under the control of the Tory Loyalists in both its branches. They were still smarting from the evils of the Rebellion period, still triumphant over the vindication of their fears and dislike of Mackenzie and his associates, still more certain of the disloyalty of the French Canadians than they had been before, confident as ever in the necessity for a strong British administration of the Provinces without too much regard to Radical, or Liberal or Republican susceptibilities. Yet they were now asked by the Governor-General, on behalf of the Crown and the Home Government, to forego the advantages of their present triumph; to accept a union which meant an influx of French votes into the joint Assembly sufficient to paralyze their power as a party; to support by this action a system of responsible government which, though not included in the legislation, was bound to follow it, and which they were conscientiously bound to oppose; to make a way ready, in short, for the victory of men who were nothing less than rebels in the eyes of such political leaders of the time as Draper and McNab and Strachan and Sherwood.

That they finally consented to the union and supported an Address to the Crown in its favor is a tribute, in the first place, to the genuine unselfishness and sincerity of much of the loyalty of that period, and, in the second place, to the ability and tact of the Governor-General. The former element in the settlement has not been remembered and appreciated as it deserves, the latter gives Lord Sydenham a high place in Canadian history. Finally, Lord J. Russell reintroduced his measure in the British Session of 1840, and it

came into operation in the now United Province of Canada, on February 10, 1841. The Act provided for a Legislative Council of not less than 20 members, and for a Legislative Assembly in which the old Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada would each be represented by 42 members—this number being unchangeable except by a two-thirds majority in both Houses. The qualification for the Assembly was a freehold valued at £500 over and above all liabilities.

The English language only was to be used and the limit of time for the duration of the popular body was four years. Of course, it could be dissolved by the Governor-General at any time. Provision was made for a consolidated revenue fund on which the first charges were to be the expense of collection, management, and receipt of revenues, the interest of the public debt, the civil list, and payment of the clergy.* The last-mentioned item shows how close were the relations of Church and State, even yet, and the arrangement regarding the Civil List finally disposed of that much-vexed question. After these payments were made out of the fund the balance was at the disposal of the Legislature. All votes, resolutions, and bills connected with the expenditure of public moneys had to be first recommended by the Governor-General.

As to the administration of this new system, Lord Sydenham's position was a great advance upon that of his predecessors. In December, 1839, he had anticipated its creation with the statement that he had "received Her Majesty's commands" to direct the Government of the Province in accordance "with the well-understood interests and wishes of the people." Subsequent despatches from Lord John Russell, which were duly communicated to the Legislature, embodied instructions to the Governor-General to "maintain the utmost possible harmony," and to call to his counsels those only who had the "general confidence and esteem of the inhabitants of the Province." Certain heads of departments

* Sir J. G. Bourinot, "Manual of the Constitutional History of Canada," 1888.

were also to retire from the public service as often "as sufficient motives of public policy" might suggest the expediency of such a course. This was progress in the direction of popular government, though it was still a very vague and uncertain stage in the movement. It was certain to come in the end, but Lord Sydenham's supposed objection to a radical course at this juncture did not afford any prospect of its being unduly hastened, and, certainly, his advisers at Quebec and Toronto were not anxious to promote any sudden change. Such was the general situation when Lord Durham's great proposal of union was put into form and shape and the first Parliament of the new Province was about to meet.

CHAPTER XIII

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND THE FAR WEST

THE romance of history can give no more striking theme or richer subject for the pen of the word-painter than is afforded by the annals of the oldest institution of British America—the Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay. Founded in 1672, as the result of an exploratory journey through the unknown wilds north of Lake Superior by Radisson and De Groseillier—two Frenchmen of energetic courage—and their discovery of a water route through Lake Winnipeg to the vast inland sea, of ice-bound appearance but great promise; chartered by Charles II and governed in its early years by such men as the gallant Prince Rupert, the Duke of York, who lives in history as King James II, and that astute politician and great soldier, the Duke of Marlborough; having rights and privileges most far-reaching and complete, extending over a vast and ill-defined territory, providing exclusive control over trade, lands, mines, and minerals, the making of laws not repugnant to the laws of England, and the raising of

armed forces for self-protection; possessed of all these and other opportunities and powers it would have been curious had some important result not followed its establishment.

In one respect the Hudson's Bay Company imitated its more famous prototype in the East Indies. It saved a vast region to the Crown and people of England and the future Canadian commonwealth, which would otherwise have drifted into the hands of France during the century of conflict with that would-be American Power, and, perhaps, have remained there as not being thought worth any very strong action. Or, if rescued from a possibility which the discoveries and trade and pioneer activities of New France rendered natural, it would probably have fallen to the United States during those days of British indifference to territory, or empire, or external power, which we know of as the period of Manchester school supremacy—a time when, if the British part of the world outside the United Kingdom had been thrown into the scale against a few million pounds of commerce, a few speeches upon the beneficence and God-sent greatness of free-trade, or the dread possibilities of war, the Empire would too often have risen so high in the air as to disappear from the real consideration of the subject.

THE GREAT WILDERNESS OF THE FAR WEST

It was a great region which the Company came to rule over. It stretched from Lake Superior to Hudson's Bay and far away to the frozen north and west; over countries hardly trod by the most adventurous of trappers or familiar even to the most experienced of Indian wanderers. It extended over the prairies and in time reached the Selkirks and the Rockies; it came to the far shores of the Pacific and into the Island of Vancouver, down the coast and over the Oregon and Washington of the future; it expanded north into the wilds of Russian America and the Klondike and Alaska of a later time. The growth and extension of the Company was, however, a slow and natural one. In the earlier days of its history the wars of the French and English reached the gloomy shores

of the great Bay, as they did to the furthest southern point of the continent. Between 1670 and 1697, the Company lost £215,000 through French incursions—a very large sum in those days. And so matters continued for nearly a century. But, despite the issues of loss or gain, of war or peace, the Company kept on its way and built forts, traded with the Indians, fought the French if need be, increased its stock, and managed to make profits so large in some years as to far more than counterbalance incidental losses. Everywhere throughout the wilderness its traders journeyed from fort to fort, meeting the Indians in picturesque pow-wow, and exchanging articles of trivial value but pretty appearance for almost priceless furs, or for the more common ones which were then so exceedingly plentiful without being deficient in value. Everywhere they found the element of adventure, the weird entertainment of savage life, the pleasures of a wild liberty, the joy of the chase over boundless regions teeming with game and animal life.

While the mastery of the continent remained at issue between England and France, the Company was not subject to much external interference or control, outside of the raids upon its territory already mentioned. In 1720, it was, therefore, able to treble its capital stock for a second time and to continue paying its shareholders comfortable dividends. But, after the supremacy of England became an undisputed fact, attention was naturally directed to the monopoly of the Company, to the natural riches of the region it controlled, and to the possibility of sharing in its profitable trade. Individual traders first drifted into the country, and then came the organization of the North-West Company at Montreal, in 1774, with such untiring and energetic men as Stuart, McGillivray, and McTavish as its pioneers. In 1798, the "X. Y." Company was formed but amalgamated seven years later with its Montreal rival. Meanwhile, the Americans had come in to increase the competition by the formation of the Mackinaw Company, and in 1809 the famous South-West Company was organized by John Jacob Astor. A little later he formed the

Pacific Fur Company, and up to 1813 maintained a tremendous struggle with his various rivals. In that year, however, he gave in to the Nor'-Westers and sold the whole business to them for some $80,000.

During the next few years the competition and jealousy of the two great remaining Companies were intense. The Hudson's Bay concern was, for the time being, outstripped by its opponent in energy, knowledge of the country, and establishment of trading posts. Owing to the system of partnership by which officers had the opportunity of becoming personally interested in its business, the North-West Company obtained better men than did the other, and, moreover, benefited largely by the employment of French-Canadian *voyageurs,* trappers, and traders—men accustomed to the wild life of the West, able and willing to obey their superiors, despite occasional lapses into recklessness, and with pronounced knowledge of the peculiarities and habits of the Indians upon whose assistance much depended. The older Company, on the other hand, preferred to employ hardy and vigorous North-of-Scotland men, who, though reliable and honest, were too unbending in their intercourse with the natives, and therefore unpopular. This trade contest did much incidental good in opening up the country. The fur-traders of the two Companies pushed their explorations and traffic in every direction—away to the Peace River and Athabaska and the Great Slave Lake, over the Rockies into New Caledonia, or British Columbia—and among them all none was more active or successful than John Stuart, of the Nor'-Westers.

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE AND OTHER EXPLORERS

But the greatest name among the many who endured unknown hardships and met every form of peril, in order to provide the modern map of a vast civilized region, is that of Alexander Mackenzie. Between 1789 and 1793, this intrepid traveler discovered the great river which bears his name and followed it to the Arctic seas. He explored the Peace River to its source and was the first white man to

penetrate the Rockies and the Selkirks and pass through those mighty barriers to the Pacific Ocean. On the coast of the Pacific, at Dean Inlet, there are still to be seen inscribed on a rock the words: "Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, 22d July, 1793." He lived to be knighted by his Sovereign and to appreciate in some measure the greatness of his own work. Mackenzie was, during this period, a member of the North-West Company, but others who contributed to the general process of exploration were so mixed up between the two great concerns that it is hardly necessary to differentiate here. David Thompson explored the Nelson, Churchill, and Saskatchewan Rivers, and was the first to follow the Columbia through the rugged passes of the Rocky Mountains to the coast.

Alexander Henry, Gabriel Fanchon, Ross Cox, Alexander Ross, D. W. Harman, and John McLeod did splendid service. Robert Campbell discovered the Pelly River and traced it through varied wanderings to the far Yukon. He afterward made a famous journey through the wilds of the West and over 9,700 miles of territory in a dog-sled, or on snowshoes. Simon Fraser, in 1806, discovered and explored the great mountain river of British Columbia which bears his name. In 1828, Sir George Simpson, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, traversed in a canoe the same turbulent river from near its source to the ocean into which it enters—carrying his frail craft when the whirlpools and boiling waters were too strong for even his skill. He made other long and important journeys throughout the great regions which he governed.

Meanwhile, explorations and discoveries had been also made by adventurous spirits not connected with these Companies. In 1731, Pierre Gauthier de la Verendrye had led a French expedition up into the then unknown prairies of the West, and discovered Lakes Manitoba and Winnipegosis. Between 1769 and 1772, Samuel Hearne had journeyed over a thousand miles in canoes and on foot to the west of Hudson's Bay, discovered the Great Slave Lake, and traced the

Coppermine River to its mouth in the Arctic Ocean. Shortly after this time Captain Cook had touched at Nootka Sound, on the coast of Vancouver Island, and then sailed north to Bering's Strait. At the very time that Mackenzie was writing his inscription on the shores of the Pacific, Captain Vancouver was exploring the same region from the sea and sailing around the island which bears his name. In later years Sir John Franklin, Sir George Back, Dr. Rae, Sir John Richardson, P. W. Deane, and Thomas Simpson led in the overland search for the Northwest Passage; and their discoveries, surveys, and records afford not only a striking picture of peril and privation, but a most valuable fund of information regarding the then unknown wilds of the furthest north.

As this work of increasing knowledge and promoting trade proceeded through varied phases of personal adventure and commercial rivalry, attempts were naturally made to establish settlements. The great effort was that of Lord Selkirk in the ten years following 1811.

LORD SELKIRK AND HIS WORK

He was an extraordinary man in many ways. Proud and independent in sentiment, stern and uncompromising in determination, vigorous and enthusiastic in policy, he was well fitted to be a pioneer of colonization. Fairly successful in early efforts in Prince Edward Island, failing in the attempt to create interest in settling a great estate which he had bought in Upper Canada, he finally turned his attention to the Northwest, and resolved to write his name large in the making of that country. After studying the position of affairs there and in Montreal, he made up his mind that the Hudson's Bay Company were the eventual masters of the situation, and decided to throw in his lot with them. He purchased, in 1811, a controlling interest in its stock—some £40,000 out of £100,000—and obtained from the Directors, among whom were many of his friends or relatives, a grant of 116,000 square miles of territory, on the condition that he

should establish a colony and furnish the Company with laborers as required. This was practically the founding of the present Province of Manitoba.

Lord Selkirk at once brought out a shipload of the Duchess of Sutherland's tenants, and, after varied difficulties and dangers, reached the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, where, near the site of the present City of Winnipeg, the Red River Settlement was established. During the years that followed these, colonists, and others who joined them from time to time, suffered in every way in which it is possible for pioneers to have trouble. The Nor'-Westers considered the soil to be theirs, and every means of annoyance in the power of a strong corporation to inflict were freely used, as occasion arose, till they culminated in a skirmish in 1816, when Governor Semple, who was acting for Lord Selkirk, and a number of his colonists, were killed by an armed band of Nor'-Westers.

It was a typical incident, though an unusually violent one, of the conflict which was waged all over the Northwest during the first twenty years of the nineteenth century between the two great Companies. In this case, however, it aroused the lion that was in the Earl of Selkirk, and, though just recovering from illness, he obtained a force of eighty soldiers and a couple of small cannon. With this troop he rushed around the Great Lakes from Montreal and through the wilderness, captured the chief agent and several partners of the North-West Company, and sent them to York for trial on various charges of murder, arson, and robbery. Of course, they were not convicted at such a distance from the scene and under the irregular conditions of their arrest; but the lesson was a good one, and for the next few years, until the Hudson's Bay Company absorbed its rival in 1821, there was more of peace and quietness in the vast region of their rivalry.

Lord Selkirk had to suffer from subsequent verdicts for false imprisonment, but in the meantime he had discounted further interference with his cherished settlement. He could not, however, control the obstacles offered by nature, and,

though he over and over again brought his settlers supplies of food, seed-grain, and implements at his own expense, they yet had to suffer untold hardships from exceptional cold, from floods and famine, and from a unique plague of grasshoppers, which extended over two years and destroyed every vestige of crop and growing food product. Eventually, the colonists and their determined patron succeeded, and, though the progress was slow, it was more and more sure as the years went on. When Lord Selkirk died, in 1820, he could see that this success was at least probable, though it is doubtful indeed if the Father of Manitoba could have anticipated the vast golden wheatfields of the future, the whistle of the locomotive over the wilderness of his time, or the roar of traffic in a large city where he had sheltered in their humble huts the first shivering settlers on the banks of the Red River.

As the years passed the settlement grew in size and importance, and Fort Garry became the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company, which, in 1836, purchased for £84,000 the land granted to Lord Selkirk in 1811. Gradually the population was added to by French trappers and hunters and by half-breeds, who came from the unions of the French with Indian women, and, in time, constituted a population of thousands. Sir George Simpson assumed control of much of the Company's affairs after its absorption of the Nor'-Westers, and, from 1821 for thirty-five years, he was the leading spirit of the Northwest. He organized the interests of the Company, explored and extended its vast territories, reconciled conflicting conditions, and established a vigorous personal control over everything. During this period travelers and explorers were sure of assistance and support at every fort or factory of the Company, while its business steadily grew in volume and profits. A network of trading posts was constituted right across the continent, and, when the Governor retired in 1856, the Hudson's Bay Company, with 152 regular establishments and over 3,000 permanent servants, dominated the religious, political, and social life of the Northwest.

Steady progress had also been made in monopolizing the fur trade of the Pacific Coast. Forts were established, routes laid out and maintained, Indians conciliated and employed. In 1847, the Governor of the Company in London informed Lord Grey, Colonial Secretary, that it was willing to "undertake the government and colonization of all the territories belonging to the Crown in North America, and receive a grant accordingly." While creditable to its ambition and self-confidence, such an extensive proposal could hardly commend itself to the authorities; but in the following year a more moderate one, which involved the management of New Caledonia and the grant of Vancouver Island for ten years under a pledge of colonization, was accepted after considerable debate in the House of Commons.

The leading spirit of the Company in what is now the Province of British Columbia and the States of Washington and Oregon, was, during these years, the vigorous and intrepid Sir James Douglas. Like Simpson, in the central regions of the West, he rose out of the amalgamation of 1821, became Chief Factor of the Pacific region in 1842, established a trading post where the City of Victoria now stands, on Vancouver Island, and, in 1851, became Governor of the Island under the Company. In 1859 the Imperial authorities took over this region owing to the Company not having kept its agreement to colonize, but Douglas was maintained in his position as Governor of the island as well as of the mainland which was now to be known as the Province, or Colony, of British Columbia.

INTERNATIONAL DIFFICULTIES OF THE COMPANY

Meanwhile, the Company had been subject to various international difficulties, or complications, as a result of the advance of its interests and influence into regions north and south of British Columbia—or New Caledonia, as it then was. In 1833, it had taken advantage of the clause in the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1825, which provided for the free navigation of streams running through Alaska from their

source in British territory, and had pushed forward a trading post to the Stikine River, besides fitting out a brig for the protection of its property. Governor Wrangel, of Alaska, promptly objected to these proceedings on behalf of the Russian Fur Company; appealed to the authorities at St. Petersburg and obtained a promise that the free navigation clause should be terminated in the following year; and then, without waiting for a legal excuse, forced the British Company's vessel to retire from Russian territory under penalty of immediate destruction. The British Government was at once appealed to, £20,000 damages claimed, and a diplomatic difficulty precipitated. Eventually, after a conference had been held in London, the question was settled between the two fur companies themselves, the British one obtaining the lease of Alaskan privileges and rights for a rental of 2,000 land otter skins per annum and a large supply of provisions at moderate rates to the Russian colony. The arrangement proved satisfactory and was renewed at intervals until Alaska became a United States possession. The boundaries of Hudson's Bay territory, or the Company's indemnification for losses sustained in war, had also found a prominent place in the Treaties of Ryswick and Utrecht with France, and in the Convention of London with the United States, in 1818.

The most important of these international questions was that connected with the Company's claim to the region of land now occupied by the States of Oregon and Washington. Had it been sustained all that great country would have become British territory, the San Juan difficulty would have been averted, the rise of Provincial coast cities such as Vancouver would not have been checked by the competition of Seattle and other places, and the mining interests and resources of British Columbia would have had a fuller freedom of development.

But, by the Treaty of Oregon, these important claims were abandoned on the part of England, the country claimed was given up to the United States, and a splendid heritage of the future surrendered for present peace and quietness.

The Hudson's Bay Company, however, claimed indemnity for its rights of occupation and trade, and, finally, in 1863, a commission composed of Alexander J. Johnson, on behalf of the United States, and Sir John Rose, on behalf of Great Britain, met at Washington and awarded the company $600,000. This was paid, after repeated representations, in two instalments—July, 1870, and February, 1871.

By this time, however, the knell of the Company's ruling power had been struck and it had ceased to be a governing and creative factor in the making of the Empire. The period of its greatest influence had been the middle of the nineteenth century when it wielded more or less authority over a wide, though undefined, region now belonging to Great Britain and the United States. It then boasted a capital and assets of over $7,000,000, a complete monopoly of trade, and an influence over 150,000 Indians which was absolute, and, upon the whole, wielded with wisdom and kindliness—especially in the restraints imposed upon the sale of liquor. But at this time, the Province of Canada had begun to see openings for trade and development to the north and west and to feel some jealousy of the power held by the Company. The arrangement regarding Vancouver Island was closely watched both at Toronto and London, as was the growth of the Red River Settlement; while the coming lapse of the twenty-one years' grant of exclusive trade given to the Company in 1838 was borne carefully in mind. As a result of these conditions a Select Committee was appointed by the Imperial House of Commons, in 1857, "to consider the state of those British possessions in North America which are under the license of the Hudson's Bay Company, or over which it possesses a License of Trade."

Mr. Gladstone, Lord J. Russell, Lord Stanley, Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Edward Ellice, Mr. Robert Lowe, and other well-known public men were appointed to this Committee, and, after careful and voluminous inquiry, it was declared in the final Report that the desire of Canada to annex a portion of this vast region for purposes of settlement and develop-

ment was just and reasonable; that the Red River and Saskatchewan districts should be ceded to that Province upon equitable conditions; that the Company's rule on Vancouver Island should cease; that in view of the danger to the Indians from any system of open competition in the fur trade, and because of the probable indiscriminate destruction of valuable fur-bearing animals under such conditions, the purely trade monopoly of the Company should be preserved for the present. In 1862 the Hon. (afterward Sir) W. P. Howland, and the Hon. L. V. Sicotte, members of the Canadian Government, proceeded to London for the purpose of pressing the annexation project upon the Imperial authorities. During the early part of the succeeding year, Sir Edward W. Watkin, an energetic capitalist who had been previously interested in the Grand Trunk and Inter-Colonial Railway enterprises, and who had visions of a British transcontinental line, organized a Company which took over the assets of the old Hudson's Bay corporation, reconstructed it with a capital of £2,000,000 sterling, and proceeded to negotiate, cordially and comprehensively, with the Canadian and British authorities.

Sir Edmund W. Head, lately Governor-General of British America, was Governor of the Company and favored a complete sale of rights and ownership. Various negotiations followed between the British and Canadian and Company authorities, including a fruitless mission in 1865 by the Hon. George Brown, and, finally, on December 14, 1867, after the confederation of the older Provinces into a Dominion had taken place, the Hon. William McDougall introduced in the new House of Commons a series of resolutions upon the subject. They declared that the Dominion of Canada should be extended to the shores of the Pacific; that the colonization of the Northwest, the development of its mineral resources, and the extension of trade within its bounds were alike dependent upon a stable government, and that the welfare of its sparse population would be promoted by the extension of Canadian government and institutions over

the entire region. In the following year Mr. McDougall and Sir George Cartier went to England to try and arrange terms, and, in 1869, the arrangements were finally consummated between the Governments concerned.

Canada had claimed the whole region as of right; it now accepted the territory upon condition of paying £300,000 sterling to the Company. It granted, at the same time, a twentieth of all lands surveyed for settlement in what was called Rupert's Land, and gave certain guarantees against undue taxation. The Company, on its side, retained possession of its historic trading-posts and maintained its influence with the natives and its special facilities for the fur trade. Though the trading monopoly was lost, and the progress of settlement and railways in time changed the nature of much of its business, the Hudson's Bay Company continued to be, and is to-day, a great power in the commerce and upbuilding of the Northwest.

It was truly an Imperial heritage which the new Dominion thus acquired. Its lakes were like great seas, its rivers ran in some cases 2,000 miles from the source to the sea, its fertile and unknown wheatfields were to prove practically illimitable, its atmosphere was found to be bracing and full of a tonic which can be found nowhere else. Its seasons were beautiful and pleasant in their warmth, healthy and strength-giving in their cold. Upon its vast plains the flowers of springtime bloomed with peculiar beauty; overhead the summer sun blazed in a strength which forced the crops to a rich and rare fruition. The rivers and lakes were found to teem with fish, the plains, near the Rockies, to be pre-eminently protected from storm and suited to the raising of cattle, the surface of the soil to cover vast coal preserves, petroleum fields, and, in the far north, untold wealth in gold and iron and copper. But most of these facts were unknown or unappreciated in 1869, and a period of storm and stress and slow development had to be faced before they reached the consciousness of the Canadian people and the knowledge of the world.

CHAPTER XIV

STRUGGLES FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

NEITHER the troubles of 1837, nor Lord Durham's famous Report, nor the Union of the Canadas in 1841, nor the promising administration of Lord Sydenham, had brought into play or practice the real principles of responsible government—principles which involve a Prime Minister selected by the Queen's Representative; a Cabinet chosen by the Premier, and, together with him, responsible to the House of Commons; a series of organized departments of administration, each in charge of a responsible Minister. Even the Liberal leaders and most advanced Reformers had failed as yet to plan out such a complete programme, and, without every one of the conditions named and including a defined conception of the Governor-General's relation to the Imperial Government on the one hand and to the Colonial Parliament on the other, no system could hope to be satisfactory.

THE CRUDE IDEAS OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

Lord Sydenham had the brains and the tact and natural statecraft to have worked out some result which might have averted years of turmoil and much dissatisfaction; but he was carried away by an accidental fall from his horse which ended in death on September 19, 1841. He was not supposed to be entirely in favor of the crude ideas of responsible government which were then in vogue, but he would undoubtedly have found a conciliatory way out of the difficulties which developed later and reached such a height in the early days of Lord Elgin. His successor, as Governor-General, was Sir Charles Bagot, a man of ability, who had held the Ministership to Washington in days when it was perhaps the most

difficult diplomatic post in Her Majesty's service. He followed, somewhat tentatively, in the steps of Lord Sydenham, and died in March, 1843, without having had any serious friction with his advisers. Sir Charles Metcalfe, who came out in his place and under appointment by a Conservative Ministry at home, was a very different man from either of his predecessors and proved to be the centre of one of the most stormy periods in Canadian politics

THE TORY LEADERS

Meanwhile, events had shown the action of the Tory party in supporting the Union to be well described as one of self-sacrifice. They were aware that a House to be elected under the auspices of a French majority in Lower Canada, using the privilege of the polls for the first time since the days of the Rebellion, and in Upper Canada under the prestige afforded to their opponents by supposed instructions from England to grant responsible government, could not but contain a majority opposed to them and to their principles. Naturally, such was the case, and the House which was met by that stanchest of Tory leaders, the Hon. W. H. Draper, as head of the Executive Council of the new Union, was largely Radical and French. The Ministry, if it could even yet be called by that title, was composed of Mr. Draper, Hon. R. B. Sullivan, Hon. S. B. Harrison, Hon. Dominick Daly, Hon. C. R. Ogden, Hon. J. H. Dunn, Hon. C. D. Day, Hon. H. H. Killaly, and, last but not least, the Hon. Robert Baldwin.

Such a combination of determined Tories with only one prominent Liberal, in the person of Baldwin, and without a French representative, naturally could have little place in the confidence of the new Assembly. Its very composition shows how slightly and how vaguely the real principles of responsible government were understood. The fact is that the Governor-General was still his own Prime Minister and still the tenacious holder of power which he believed to be essential to the interests of the Mother-country and British connection. He could not believe that it was a part of his duty to sur-

render the prerogatives of the Crown, in relation to appointments and the composition of his Executive Council, to any Minister or body of Ministers who must under the existing circumstances of the case be responsible to a party in the Assembly which sympathized very largely with the objects of the late insurrection, and some of whose leaders seemed opposed to the principles of British connection which the Governor-General was sworn and bound to guard.

It was a difficult situation to face, and Lord Sydenham in his brief period of power had temporized and had, no doubt, planned ways and means to meet it which he was never able to carry out. Sir Charles Bagot did a little more than this when the inevitable conflict between his Draper Executive and the House took place and Baldwin resigned office; he formed an Executive under the joint leadership of L. H. Lafontaine and Baldwin himself. It was a Liberal Ministry with a fair French representation, and, with the experience of after years in the minds of both Governor and Ministers, might have lasted some time. But such conditions could not, of course, exist, and, meanwhile, Sir Charles Metcalfe arrived on the scene.

SIR CHARLES METCALFE AS GOVERNOR

The new Governor had served his apprenticeship in the rule of millions of men in India and of lesser communities in the West Indies. He was a strong-willed, self-sustained, patriotic, and conscientious man, devoted to the service of his Sovereign, and with something of an older-time spirit of sincerity and loyalty. But he was hopelessly out of touch with democratic aspirations, without sympathy for anything which seemed to touch, or threaten, any element of the Royal prerogative, and was, naturally, therefore, inclined to the views of the Tory party. As a Governor responsible to the Crown he did his duty freely and manfully; as a Governor responsible to the people he failed entirely. Yet, like so many of his predecessors, he was not greatly to blame, certainly not to be condemned with that fierce and free assur-

ance which characterizes the political writers of that time, and frequently of the present, when commenting upon his character and career. To him the Crown meant England and the Empire. As a servant of his country and the Representative of his Sovereign duty lay to him in what would best conserve their interests; and, like preceding Governors, with the possible exception of Lord Durham, he conceived those interests and a united future to turn upon the maintenance of every power of prerogative still held by the Crown.

In deliberately assuming such ground he was mistaken from all the standpoints in the experience of an after-time, but he was neither unpatriotic, nor wicked, nor guilty of tyranny, nor worthy of the wholesale abuse poured out by the Liberal and Radical papers and politicians of the next two years upon his devoted head. There was no doubt as to his attitude and opinions from the first. Sir Charles arrived in 1843, and promptly declared that he intended to keep the patronage in his own hands, and to make official appointments without the advice of his Executive Council. Certain vacant positions he proceeded to fill at once, and the Baldwin-Lafontaine Government immediately resigned office. Mr. Draper reassumed the reins, a general election followed, and the Governor and his Tory Council were sustained by a fair majority. During the ensuing two years a loud and continuous discussion went on throughout the two sections of the Province, and much light was thrown on the issue, despite the virulent tone adopted by many of the disputants. Sir Charles Metcalfe, meantime, was raised to the peerage—a slight compensation, indeed, for his determination to do what he deemed his duty at all hazards and despite the endurance of a cancer which was eating into his face and slowly but surely destroying his life. He would not accept the relief of retirement and was upheld during many months of intense suffering by a belief that he understood the situation in Canada and was in a position to better maintain the authority of the Crown than any possible successor. From his point of view this was undoubtedly a fact, and the appreciation and

admiration of those opposed to responsible government was his to the fullest degree—including the support of such a keen observer and slashing polemist as Dr. Egerton Ryerson.

THE EARL OF ELGIN'S GOVERNORSHIP

But there are limits to human endurance, and toward the close of 1845 Lord Metcalfe returned home to die. His successor, for a brief period, was Earl Cathcart, and then in 1847 came the Earl of Elgin. Like Lord Durham, this really great administrator possessed the rare faculty of grasping all the threads of a tangled situation at once; of bringing a chaos of conflicting views and honest sentiments and almost patriotic antagonisms into concrete form under the eye of a clear and impartial mind. He was able to see that although Lafontaine may have played with the burning brands of sedition in its earlier stages and Baldwin have nursed a moderate sympathy with many of the grievances of the rebels, yet they were now men of maturity of judgment, honesty of purpose, and sincere loyalty to British connection. He was able to understand that while Draper was in apparently bitter antagonism to the wishes of a somewhat fluctuating majority of the people and McNab an earnest and avowed opponent of popular government, yet the one was an honorable, patriotic, and able man, and the other a citizen of whose sincerity and undoubted services the country had every reason to be proud. He was able to grasp the existence of a love for liberty among Liberals which was above and apart from the much-feared principles of American democracy; a love for power among the Tories which was superior to and distinct from the mere desire for office and position.

Moreover, the Liberals were again in power in England and willing to risk a possible loss in British prerogative and nominal power in return for some relase from burdensome responsibility and for a measure of real peace in the Colonies. His instructions were therefore more elastic, his powers wider, and the room for exercising natural ability and faculty for statesmanlike observation much greater than had been

the case before. While these facts stand to the credit of English Liberalism at this juncture they do not relieve it from suspicion as to the motive underlying the action. That it turned out well and promoted loyalty while broadening the bounds of liberty is true, but that it was part of a general tendency to loosen the ties of Imperial unity and encourage the development of Colonial independence is also true, and is amply proved by Lord Elgin's published correspondence during this period.*

It was now the early stages of the Manchester School ascendency, and, while good in this particular instance came out of an evil which would have wrecked the Empire in its complete development, yet justice should be done to some of the Tories who opposed responsible government in England because they feared independence as well as to the Liberals who granted it because they did not greatly dread the possibility of independence. Hitherto British politics had only occasionally been exhibited in matters of Colonial administration and then only in details. Upon the broad principle of maintaining the Governor's prerogative and refusing full responsible government Home-parties had been united. Now they divided, for a time, only to combine in some twenty years of practical indifference to all Colonial affairs—a policy of letting the Colonies do much as they pleased.

Lord Elgin was supposed to be a Conservative in politics, but people had come to discount any probabilities based upon individual preferences of this nature. Sir Francis Bond Head had been heralded as an English Liberal and had most strenuously supported the Canadian Tories; Sir Charles Bagot was a Conservative but had held the reins with considerable fairness; Lord Metcalfe himself had been announced as a Liberal in English politics. The new Governor-General was, as a matter of fact, either above these distinctions or had made up his mind to be uninfluenced by them. And he

* Walrond's Life and Letters of the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine.

found one factor greatly in his favor. Preceding Governors had found Canadian affairs a hopeless jumble of conflicting policies and ideas with only one clearly defined principle visible upon the stormy surface—the Tory one of opposition to democratic innovation. The Liberals had not known exactly what they wanted, or if they did, in an occasional and individual case, understand what was required and how it was to be worked out, there was no authoritative medium for its presentation, no clear summary of purpose and plan for popular approval.

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE LIBERAL PLATFORM

There was now, however, a Liberal platform of the most pronounced kind. Its cardinal principle was that a Provincial Government should, in the fullest measure, be a Parliamentary Government, and that no Ministry could or should stay in office after it had lost the control of the Assembly. If defeat came in the House and an appeal was made to the country its resignation could be held over until the result of the elections was known. Should that result be adverse resignation must instantly follow. This involved the change of the Executive Council into a departmental Government, such as that of Great Britain, and a complete alteration in the position of the Governor-General. Instead of being merely the guardian of British interests, or supposed British interests, in the Province, he was, as the Queen's representative, to take the Queen's place in the constitution. "What the Queen can not do in England," they declared, "the Governor should not be permitted to do in Canada." In making Imperial appointments the Crown is bound to consult its advisers; in making Provincial appointments the Governor should be similarly bound. No Governor should identify himself with any political party—and, it might have been fair to add, no political party should place itself in open antagonism to the Governor.

The majority in the Assembly, for the time being, they considered to embody the existing opinion of the country,

and, provided such views did not clash with Imperial interests, they should not be interfered with by the Governor. Local matters should not be referred to the Colonial Office for settlement. "To Canadians alone must the Governor look for ratification and approval of his conduct in the management of their domestic affairs; to the Imperial Government alone he is to render an account of his stewardship in the conservation of Imperial interests." Such a policy was apparently complete in its parts, logical in its application* and loyal in its final statement that the Liberals of Canada desired to maintain the Crown, through its Representative in the Province, "as an harmonious component of their local constitution."

It was the practical result of three or four decades of groping in the dark for a solution of difficulties which were inevitable, and not in themselves disastrous, and which would have naturally moderated under the influences of time and British progressiveness without all the turmoil and tumult which had actually marked the process. It was a policy which, in its full form, the Governor-General could now accept, and it was the first time that such had really been the case. Theory in multitudinous shapes had so far influenced very largely the Liberal party; they had now united logic with theory and Lord Elgin was able to transform the combination into practice. He did not meet the problem with any profound belief that because a system is old it is good, or because it is new it is better. Speaking on a political platform at Southampton in 1841, he had declared himself a Conservative "not upon principles of exclusionism, or illiberalism of sentiment, but because I believe that our

* The one weakness in the structure eventually evolved under Lord Elgin, and acted upon up to Confederation, was the practical absence of a Prime Minister, and the tendency of the people to still look to the Governor-General when they should have looked to the Ministry alone. Too much stress was laid by agitators during all this period upon the attitude of the Governor toward the people; too little attention was paid to the position of the people toward the Governor. It was not till the Dominion was created that the checks and balances necessary to a smoothly working constitution came into full operation.

admirable constitution proclaims between men of all classes and degrees in the body-politic a sacred bond of brotherhood in the recognition of a common warfare here and a common hope hereafter. I am a Conservative not because I am adverse to improvement, not because I am unwilling to repair what is wasted, or to supply what is defective in the political fabric, but because I am satisfied that in order to improve effectually you must be resolved most religiously to preserve."

Such sentiments of moderation should have conciliated parties in Canada, and would, indeed, have been an excellent basis upon which to act among themselves. Though he had only served for a time as Governor of Jamaica, and was not at this period a large figure in politics or administration at home, Lord Elgin had an undoubted reputation for ability and was known to have pleased all parties in Jamaica—a very difficult task. Moreover, he had just been married a second time and to no less a personage than a daughter of the Lord Durham whose memory was now enshrined in the heart of English-speaking Liberals all over British America. The new Governor received a warm reception everywhere, and at Montreal struck the keynote of his future administration by saying: "I am sensible that I shall best maintain the prerogative of the Crown, and most effectually carry out the instructions with which Her Majesty has honored me, by manifesting a due regard for the wishes and feelings of the people and by seeking the advice and assistance of those who enjoy their confidence." Lord Elgin impressed himself favorably upon every one. Young and energetic, genial in temperament and manner, dignified in bearing, and, at the same time, pleasant and accessible, he also proved an admirable speaker, and soon won the reputation of being the best in the Province. Like Lord Dufferin, in after years, he could be depended upon to say in graceful and fitting words the right thing in the right place.

FALL OF THE DRAPER MINISTRY

The Draper Ministry was now tottering to its fall, and the Tory party, as being identified with a policy which had become one of simple drifting with the tide, was like a boat without a rudder. Mr. Draper had tired of a prolonged struggle, in which the fates seemed against him, and wanted to retire to the Bench. But there was no one upon whom the party could unite, and there was no policy other than the negative one of standing by certain old-fashioned principles which the Imperial Government was said to have repudiated, and which now depended, for even temporary maintenance, upon the willingness of the Governor-General to occupy the same political boat as the Executive. Lord Elgin took occasion at once to intimate that he would do nothing of the sort. So far as he was concerned, parties must sink or swim upon their own ability to breast the tide of public opinion. He would give their leaders the fullest freedom of action, and would co-operate cordially with the successful party in carrying on the local Government according to the wishes of the majority. To Draper and McNab and others this seemed a sheer abrogation of the functions of an Imperial administrator; a sacrifice of one of the few remaining shreds of British power over Provincial affairs. But to it they had to submit.

Lord Elgin did not act hastily or rashly. His Ministry had not the confidence of the Assembly, but he saw that it was in process of natural dissolution, and he let things take their course. In May, 1847, Mr. Draper resigned and accepted a position as Judge of the Court of Queen's Bench for Upper Canada, and nine years later became Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He lived to see the Dominion an accomplished fact and the principles he had so strongly and conscientiously opposed forming the keynote of a national constitution. He, himself, served as President of Ontario's Court of Appeal for many years, was the recipient of a C. B. from the Queen, and died in 1877,

with the highest possible reputation for judicial ability, industry, and stainless honor. His political successor for a brief period was Mr. Henry Sherwood, a Tory of the Tories, whose Ministry in its reconstructed state was chiefly notable for the presence of Mr. John A. Macdonald, who had entered the Assembly from Kingston in 1844, and for the absence of French-Canadian representatives — only one being obtainable after prolonged negotiations. The Tory party was still, in reputation, the party opposed to French influence, the party of believers in French disloyalty, the party of sympathizers with everything which would restrict French development along distinct lines. The Sherwood Ministry held on to power with the utmost persistence. They could, however, pass no measure of value, were continually defeated in the House, and only managed to struggle through a session on that sufferance which feels that the last stages of an unendurable situation have been reached and must be settled by a coming general election.

The general position of affairs was very gloomy. The repeal of the Corn-Laws and of the preferential British tariff had plunged the Province into financial disaster and caused intense popular discontent. The feeling between French and English in Canada East was still acute. The immigration of thousands of Irish paupers, seeking escape from the frightful famine of the time, had cast upon Canadian shores a multitude of people who arrived there simply to die of the ship-fever, which had developed during their voyage, or else to throw themselves upon Canadian charity and kindness. They did not ask for help in vain. At Quebec, during 1847, over 100,000 persons landed, and of these 10,000 were to be found in the hospitals at one time. Other places, such as Montreal and Toronto and Kingston, faced the same trouble, and with the same generosity nursed the sick, succored the starving, and cared for the homeless. In Montreal, alone, there were 1,000 orphans left destitute as a result of this appalling immigration and disease. Sick and suffering people streamed up the St. Lawrence, pushed toward the Lakes

in overcrowded steamers, and burdened the inhabitants of the western towns and villages. The response was everywhere the same, and from the poor as well as the wealthy, from the Indian and the negro as well as the white man, relief poured in to the Committees which were formed. Large sums were ultimately distributed in Ireland as well as in Canada. Deeds of heroism in the hospitals of the time were many—the heroism of nurses and clergymen who were willing to die, if necessary, in order to nurse and minister to the sick. More than one Roman Catholic ecclesiastic perished in this memorable season of suffering and self-sacrifice.

Such events could not but react upon the political situation, when preparations were being made for an election which was destined to be of the greatest importance as a historical landmark and as finally decisive of a change already impending. Lord Elgin did his best, in the meantime, to soothe asperities, and to promote a good-feeling which might lessen the bitterness of the contest. He made a tour of Canada East, and won the hearts of the people everywhere with his silvery speech and pleasing manner. Among the French Canadians he carried everything before him by speaking to the *habitants* in their native tongue. Early in December, 1847, the Assembly was dissolved, on January 24, 1848, the elections were held, and both divisions of the Province swept by the Liberals. Parliament met in February, the Hon. A. N. Morin was elected Speaker of the Assembly over Sir A. N. McNab on a party vote, the Government was defeated on the Address and promptly resigned. A new Ministry was at once formed, which is notable not only as being the first under the system of actual responsible government, but as containing many able men, and as initiating the recognition of an equal right among French and English representatives to a place in its composition. In accordance, also, with an arrangement which was now to become an unwritten law, there was an Attorney-General from Canada East and one from Canada West, holding equal powers, and controlling the political patronage and party policy of their respective

communities. One was supposed to be Premier, but his position was very vague, and his actual superiority still more so—a condition which illustrates the difficulties of the situation, and the fact that the English system in its full form was not found applicable by even the Liberal party in its day of power. The Government was made up as follows:

CANADA EAST OR LOWER CANADA

HON. LOUIS H. LAFONTAINE, *Attorney-General,*
HON. JAMES LESSLIE, *President of Executive Council,*
HON. R. E. CARON, *Speaker of Legislative Council,*
HON. E. P. TACHE, *Chief Commissioner of Public Works,*
HON. T. C. AYLWIN, *Solicitor-General.*

CANADA WEST OR UPPER CANADA

HON. ROBERT BALDWIN, *Attorney-General,*
HON. R. B. SULLIVAN, *Provincial Secretary,*
HON. FRANCIS HINCKS, *Inspector-General,*
HON. J. H. PRICE, *Commissioner of Crown Lands,*
HON. MALCOLM CAMERON, *Assistant-Commissioner of Public Works,*
HON. W. HUME BLAKE, *Solicitor-General.*

The succeeding session was a short but satisfactory one, and the storm of the coming period was as yet only a tiny cloud on the horizon. Lord Elgin found the new Government amenable, conciliatory, and far indeed from what the Liberals were honestly believed to be by the late Lord Metcalfe. He was not asked to surrender any prerogative of importance, and his opinion upon appointments seems to have been freely consulted. "I have tried both systems," he wrote privately in 1849. "In Jamaica there was no responsible government, but I had not half the power I have here with my constitutional and changing Cabinet." No doubt this was somewhat due to his own personality, to his kindly disposition, his cordial courtesy, his sympathetic insight into difficulties, and a certain quality of instinctive statecraft which was always at the service of his Government, whether Liberal or Tory.

PROGRESS IN THE ATLANTIC PROVINCES

Meanwhile, events in the Maritime Provinces had been steadily developing toward the same end of responsible govern-

ment. Lord John Russell's despatch regarding the tenure of office was regarded by the Liberal party in New Brunswick as practically granting their demands and was read by Sir John Harvey to the Legislature in 1839 with an intimation of his willingness to put it in operation. But he was personally so popular, his administration so acceptable, and the people were so naturally Conservative that it was received with indifference and the Assembly actually passed a Resolution, by one vote, against the establishment of a responsible system. Later on, Sir William Colebrooke became Governor, and, in the midst of Lord Metcalfe's bitter controversy with the Liberals in Canada, the Legislature still further signalized its position by passing Resolutions thanking the Governor-General for his firm and vigorous stand against republicanism. But, by 1848, the influence of new developments in Canada had proved too strong for even New Brunswick Conservatism and its happy condition of having little real ground for complaint. A measure in favor of responsible government was therefore supported by both parties and a Ministry formed to which Lemuel A. Wilmot and Charles Fisher, the two Liberal leaders, were duly appointed. This, however, was a coalition, and it was not till 1854, after the holding of a general election, that the Liberals in this Province came into full power and formed a distinctly responsible Ministry.

In Nova Scotia affairs were very different. There was no calm stream of indifferent progress toward an inevitable consummation in its politics. The Governor, Sir Colin Campbell,* was a man of military mind with Metcalfe-like ideas of right and wrong and with his sense of duty to the Imperial Government developed at the expense of any duty he might be supposed to owe the people. He was, in short, a Governor, and not the head of a distinct constitutional system based upon British precedent. As such, he looked upon the Russell

* He was not the famous Lord Clyde, of Indian memory, as some Canadian writers have stated.

despatch of 1839 as a product of Home partisanship and as apart altogether from his duty to the Crown. The Assembly, under the influence of Howe's burning speech and sweeping invective, passed a strong Resolution of non-confidence in the Executive, which the Governor received with the intimation that his advisers were quite acceptable to him.

The leaders in Nova Scotia at this time were brilliant men and fitted, many of them, to adorn a wider and greater field than destiny ever offered. Joseph Howe was, of course, first and foremost. None could touch him in eloquence, logic of argument, force of invective, or brilliancy of rhetoric, and it is a question if the Dominion has ever produced his equal in these respects. James Boyle Uniacke was a strong man in many respects, while William Young, who lived to be knighted by the Queen, and to act for twenty-one years as Chief Justice of the Province, combined sound judgment with eloquence of speech. The equal of any of the Liberal leaders in political ability and sincerity, and the superior of all but Howe in oratorical power, was the Tory chief—James W. Johnston. He won elections in the teeth of his rival's more popular policy and always held the respect and admiration of his own party. Howe's attacks upon the Lieutenant-Governor at this time were almost intolerable. To say that they were scathing and slashing is to use a very mild phrase. Their brilliancy was only equaled by a bitterness which was vitriolic in its intensity and which found expression not only in speech, but in newspaper articles, and in letters to the Colonial Secretary which are classics, as truly and fully as anything ever penned by Junius.

The inevitable result followed. Sir Colin Campbell was recalled and Lord Falkland, during the six years beginning in September, 1840, ruled in his place. It was an uneasy crown which he placed on his head. The preliminary compromise of appointing three Liberal leaders—Howe, Uniacke, and McNab—to seats in the Executive, without accepting their principles, was foredoomed to failure, and, after Howe and Johnston had managed to mix oil and water long enough

to pass a much debated measure incorporating Halifax, the coalition naturally dissolved.

Apart from the general and vague question of responsibility to the Assembly there were strong differences between the leaders on purely local issues. Howe favored free common schools and one Provincial University. Johnston, like the Tories of all the Provinces in his day, favored denominational schools and colleges with Provincial grants—in brief, the union of Church and State principle. In 1844 the disruption had come. Falkland accepted the resignation of the Liberals and then endeavored to win over the masses from their party allegiance to Howe. It was a not unnatural thing to do at such a juncture, but it once more revived the implacable spirit from which his predecessor had suffered so greatly. Henceforth, Lord Falkland was, for the two years preceding his recall, able to fully comprehend the limitless possibilities of the English language and the force of Howe's keen and merciless invective.

In 1846 he was relieved, and the ever useful, genial, and popular Sir John Harvey was appointed to the position. It was not an easy one, even for him, to fill. If he publicly favored responsible government he would be breaking one of its cardinal principles by defying advisers who now held a majority in both Houses; if he did not do so all the political bitterness of the Liberal leaders would be poured upon him as it had been upon Campbell and Falkland. He tried a compromise by inviting Howe and his associates to take places in the Council. But they refused, and, finally, a tacit compromise was arrived at by which all parties agreed to await the coming elections. Late in 1847 these took place, and the Liberals were victorious by a fair majority. Johnston resigned and a Government was formed under new conditions and with the same understanding which now prevailed in the Canadas—that the Governor would freely and fully accept the responsibility of his Ministers to the Assembly instead of to himself. Howe was the most prominent member of the new Executive and with him were Lawrence O'Connor Doyle,

James Boyle Uniacke, James McNab, Herbert Huntington, George R. Young, and other representatives of Provincial Liberalism and of the prolonged struggle for responsible government.

CHAPTER XV

POLITICAL REFORMS AND GENERAL PROGRESS

GREAT reforms and changes mark the period from 1848 to 1866. Responsible government had not worked as smoothly as its friends had hoped, and in time it developed conditions which created an absolute deadlock in the functions of government in the two Canadas. But it, none the less, opened the way for legislation of a useful character, broadened the minds of those public men who were able to grasp an enlarged though complicated situation and presented opportunities of achievement to the master-mind of Canadian history—John A. Macdonald.

RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS SENTIMENT

Although Lord Elgin had given his fullest confidence to the new Baldwin-Lafontaine Ministry, and was prepared, and able, to freely carry out the principles of responsible government, he and they alike had a most difficult task before them. Feeling was still very bitter among the French in Lower Canada against everything that savored of English domination or Protestant influence; the Liberal party of Upper Canada, or Canada West, was coming under the influence of George Brown's towering and aggressive personality and of his bitter opposition to what he believed to be the dangers of French and ecclesiastical domination in the public life of united Canada. And upon this rock of conflicting racial and religious sentiment the strong Government of the moment was ultimately to break up. It had also to face the slowly rising influence and organizing force of John A. Macdonald among the Conservatives, as well as the unifying party effect which the storms of the Rebellion Losses Bill was destined to have.

This latter extraordinary episode affected the Governor-General far more than it did his Ministry. There was still no conception in either party of the fact that a responsible Ministry meant one which was not only responsible for the distribution of places and patronage but also for legislation of every kind—whether controlled by its initiative or approved by the Queen's Representative upon its advice. People did not seem to understand that they had been asking for, and had now obtained, a condition of things similar to that in England, where no party or section dreamed of attacking the Crown, but assumed as a matter of course that once a Ministry was formed it became responsible for the entire policy of the Government.

A CURIOUS SITUATION

They still looked to the Governor-General to correct the mistakes, or supposed mistakes, of his own Cabinet by either a veto or a reference to England; and this popular feeling affords more excuse than perhaps any other fact for the earlier and conscientious opposition of the Tories to the whole plan of responsible government. But if, as Draper and his associates believed in 1841, the public neither understood nor were prepared for the carrying out of this policy what is to be said about the situation in 1848, when a large section of the people of Montreal destroyed the Parliament Buildings and a larger and more politically mixed mass of people in Upper Canada petitioned the Crown to remove Lord Elgin for not having refused the advice of his responsible Ministers and repudiated the voice of a large Parliamentary majority! It was a curious situation and the details are not the least interesting in Canada's complex story.

During the preceding Draper administration the Government had brought in a measure and the House had supported it, giving a compensation of some £40,000 to the loyal sufferers from the Rebellion in Upper Canada. A demand for similar treatment had, of course, been at once received from the French-Canadian representatives, but was opposed by

the Loyalists of Upper Canada on the ground that, practically, all the people of the Lower Province who had not actually participated in the insurrection had sympathized with it. In some measure, and especially in connection with the various stages of the movement which led up to the Rebellion, this impression was probably correct; but so far as a large portion of the people were concerned during the actual risings it was incorrect. Still, the very assumption and its expression in Parliament, shows the racial and political tension which existed. The Draper Government, therefore, compromised matters for the moment by appointing a Commission which ultimately reported that while the claims in Lower Canada amounted to £250,000, an indemnity of £100,000 would probably cover the actual losses. The Government awarded £10,000, and in doing so angered the French Canadians by its utter disproportion to the amount of their claims and its own party by the admission of what they believed to be a dangerous principle.

THE REBELLION LOSSES BILL

During the two or three years of varied events which followed, and with a Government trembling in the balance, the matter was allowed to drop. But it was not forgotten, and, as soon as the Lafontaine-Baldwin Ministry was installed in office, the agitation in French Canada began to revive. By the time the Legislature had met at Montreal, in 1849, the question had reached an issue which demanded settlement and was met, first by a series of Resolutions which Mr. Lafontaine moved and rapidly passed through the Assembly, and then by a Bill based upon the principles thus accepted. The preamble to this measure for "the indemnification of parties in Lower Canada whose property was destroyed during the Rebellion in the years 1837 and 1838," declared that a minute inquiry should be made regarding such losses and that proven claims for compensation should be paid and satisfied. It was provided that none who had been convicted of treason during the Rebellion, or after being arrested had admitted

their guilt, or had been included among those transported to Bermuda, should be entitled to any indemnity. Five Commissioners were to be appointed for the carrying out of these proposals and £100,000 was appropriated for the compensation of claims.

The result of the introduction of this measure was a storm which threatened to shake the new system of government to its roots. The debates in Parliament were fierce beyond all precedent—even in the breezy days of Papineau's invective against British domination and tyranny. The Loyalists, the Tories, and even many moderate English-speaking Liberals throughout the country, as well as in the Legislature, denounced the measure as an attempt to reward rebellion, to indemnify treason, to approve sedition. It was a rebel Government patting rebellion on the back. It was a case of men who had participated in, or had approved of, the insurrection making an effort to express their sympathy by voting public money to their friends. It was the bribe offered by Baldwin for the present help and co-operation of Lafontaine and the French-Canadian members. These are strong words, but they only faintly indicate the utterances of the exasperated Loyalists led by Sir Allan McNab, Mr. Sherwood, the veteran Colonel Prince, and others who had proved their feelings in the field against the very rebellion which was thus being condoned.

It is not difficult at this distance of time to sympathize with the bitterness of the Tory view while approving the general policy of the Government and deprecating what followed. To the former there was no justification whatever for the risings of 1837-38. A rebel was a criminal who deserved only punishment. Loyalty to the Crown, which was the pivotal point of all their policy, was utterly incompatible with sympathy for sedition of any kind, especially for that which had prevailed in the two Canadas. And it soon became evident from the speeches of the Government leaders that there was no intention of discriminating in the payments between those who had risen and those who had been loyal,

except in the extremely limited cases of conviction or banishment to Bermuda. The position of the Government had some elements of reason and strength in this regard. An Act of Amnesty had been proclaimed, and, therefore, Mr. Baldwin said, it would be disrespectful to the Queen to inquire what part a man had taken during the preceding troubles. The Amnesty obliterated what had previously occurred. Mr. Merritt expressed the belief that all were now good and loyal subjects, and that no delicate distinctions regarding the past should be drawn. Mr. Drummond, with legal precision, stated that under an Amnesty Act the pardoned were in the same position as they had been before the offence was committed. More to the point was Mr. Hincks's statement that it would be impossible to permit any set of Commissioners to "arbitrarily decide that men were rebels who had never been convicted of high treason."

It is not necessary to follow the stormy passage of the measure through the Legislature. On the 9th of March it passed the third and final reading in the Assembly by forty-seven to eighteen votes. In the Legislative Council the third reading was passed a week later by twenty to fourteen. Meanwhile, Tory petitions against it were pouring in from all parts of the country to the Governor-General, and he now became the central figure of one of the fiercest demonstrations of feeling in Canadian history. His position was a very difficult one. The Government had a large majority in both Houses, and were only fifteen months from an appeal to the people in which they had obtained this majority. To veto the measure was impossible under those principles of responsible government which he had recognized and resolved to apply; to refer it to the Home Government was simply a cowardly method of relieving his own shoulders from a responsibility which it was his duty to bear, and of directing the wrath of whichever party lost, in the reference, against the Crown. To dissolve Parliament was to precipitate an issue at the polls which, in the inflamed state of public opinion, could hardly be settled by a mere vote, and, if it were

so disposed of without actual violence, would in all probability only prolong the trouble without changing the result. He determined, therefore, with a patriotism which deserves the appreciation of every Canadian in more sober days, to assume the full responsibility of action and of his assent to the Bill. "Whatever mischief ensues," he wrote to the Colonial Secretary, "may probably be repaired, if the worst comes to the worst, by the sacrifice of me."

On the 25th of April, Lord Elgin drove to the Parliament House in Montreal and publicly assented to the measure in the Queen's name. The news flew like wildfire through the city, and the once popular Governor drove away from the House amid a storm of insults and showers of missiles. A few hours passed, the excitement increased, the mob became larger and larger, and finally uncontrollable. There were well-dressed men in its ranks, and many known to be Tories among its leaders. No doubt also there was a large riff-raff element common to such occasions, and, probably, many French and Irish of the lower classes who cared nothing about the issue, and only loved a riot. However, the mob invaded the Parliament Buildings, and, finally, in a moment of impulse, set them on fire. The damage done was irreparable. Not only were the buildings destroyed, but all the public records of Upper and Lower Canada before the Union were burned. Not only was the reputation of Montreal affected, but its position as the seat of Government was rendered a future impossibility. Not only was the Tory party disgraced by its participation in the riot, but it soon became entirely responsible for it in the public mind, and suffered corresponding injury. The seal was really set to the chances of Tory success against Lord Elgin, at this juncture, by the burning of the buildings and by the further riot which followed the Governor-General's visit to the city a few days later.

Protests, meanwhile, poured into the Colonial Office at London against Lord Elgin's action in accepting the Bill; though still more numerous were the addresses show-

ered upon him, personally, from every part of the country, and expressing admiration for his magnanimity toward the rioters and his determination to uphold at all cost the principles of responsible government. He was ultimately maintained in his position and his policy approved by the Colonial Office. Parliament met no more at Montreal. During the next decade it sat alternately at Toronto and Quebec—until Bytown had been changed from a little lumbering village on the banks of the Ottawa, by the magic of the Queen's choice, into the capital of her Canadian Province. In 1860, the Prince of Wales, during his visit to Canada, laid the corner-stone of the Parliament Buildings which were to do honor to the future Dominion and to mark the evolution of a village into the City of Ottawa.

The year 1849 saw more than the riots at Montreal. Over Canada hung the clouds of intense commercial depression. To the Tories it seemed as if Great Britain had thrown them to the wolves of want by her sudden free-trade arrangements, while at the same time she had sacrificed their loyalty upon a shrine of rebellion through the action of Lord Elgin. The result of their dissatisfaction, and of the still seething discontent among French Canadians, was the birth of an Annexation movement; the holding of a mass-meeting in Montreal to further that end; the issue of a Manifesto which is of great historic interest because of its rash signature by such men of the future as Sir A. A. Dorion, Sir A. T. Galt, Sir D. L. Macpherson, Sir John Abbott, and the leading financial magnates of the city. It was a mere flash in the pan, but it none the less marked the miserable condition of the country at this period of commercial disaster and political riot. More important, because more lasting in its effects, was the formation of the British-American League, with a platform of federal union among the Provinces and of protection in tariff matters. It was largely the product of John A. Macdonald's skilful hand and of his leadership of a number of young men who were growing in personal ambition and in public attention. From

this time until its final fruition the idea of federation never disappeared entirely from the field of Canadian politics, although its progress was often hampered and its position for years was more visionary than practical in appearance.

THE PERIOD OF RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT

Meanwhile the period of railway development was looming upon the horizon. The fertile brain of Lord Durham had suggested an inter-colonial railway to unite the Canadas with the Maritime Provinces, and the ready mind of Joseph Howe had early seen its desirability. Effort after effort was made between 1850 and the time of Confederation to get this line built. Lord Elgin did what he could to support the idea. Howe, in Nova Scotia, Edward Barron Chandler, in New Brunswick, and Francis Hincks, in Canada, did their best to further it. Negotiations were entered into with the Colonial Office, Howe went to England and stormed the ramparts of officialdom, meetings were held at Toronto and elsewhere of inter-Provincial delegates, but the project ultimately fell through. Upon its ruins came the European and North American Line in New Brunswick and the Grand Trunk in Canada; and not till after Confederation was the original plan taken up and carried to completion.

The history of the Grand Trunk is an extraordinary one. It was the product of a railway era, the record of which is marked by all the evils of rash investment, wild extravagance, huge profits, great losses, and frequent ruin. Lesser lines sprang up like mushrooms in every direction; the Legislature gave grants to all kinds of projectors and projects; the Municipal Loan Fund was created and local bodies empowered to help railways—which they did to the tune of millions. In 1852 the Grand Trunk Line, connecting the waters of Lake Huron with those of the St. Lawrence, was commenced, and, in 1860, the costly Victoria Bridge, in practical completion of its Canadian system, was opened by the Prince of Wales. The promoters of the railway included many members of the Government—John Ross, Francis

Hincks, E. P. Taché, James Morris, Malcolm Cameron, and R. E. Caron—the President of the Bank of Montreal and others, and the bonds were floated in England without much difficulty. Mr. Hincks was the leader in the movement, and in the varied financial difficulties which followed he holds a prominent place.

The evils of the situation which developed out of this and similar enterprises are well known and reflected seriously for many years upon the credit of the Dominion. Confident in the appearance of so many representative Canadians in the Grand Trunk Prospectus money was freely invested by the English people under the impression that it was more or less a Government project. The arrangement by which the great firm of Peto, Brassey & Betts undertook its construction did not destroy an impression which seems to have been based upon nothing more than the appearance of certain names upon the Directorate and to have survived the repeated refusals of the Canadian Government to identify themselves with its later complications. Twenty years after this period, however, the London "Times" (April 15, 1875) declared that £30,000,000 had been spent upon the Grand Trunk. Of this five-sixths was English money and only £10,000,000 of it was yielding any return. Eight million pounds sterling had gone into the Great Western and only £3,000,000 of that amount was paying any interest; while the Canada Southern, the Midland, the Prescott and Ottawa, and other lines since amalgamated with the Grand Trunk and built mainly with British capital, were mere financial wreckage. The whole episode is, in fact, an unpleasant one. It hurt Canadian credit for many long years and the free expenditure of money at the time produced a political corruption which was even more injurious.

Yet the promoters do not deserve blame. Mr. Hincks and his associates did their best to develop the country by the creation of necessary lines of communication and their policy undoubtedly had a great influence for good in that connection. That the contractors did not understand the

conditions of construction in a new region; that the railway managers were extravagant in expenses and salaries; that political influences caused the building of competitive lines where there was no room for them; that the waterways of Canada proved great rivals to the new railways, were all matters hardly under the control of the politicians who pioneered the railway system of Canada.

TWO GREAT QUESTIONS SETTLED

Meanwhile, two great political questions had been settled—the Clergy Reserves in Upper Canada and the Seigneurial Tenure in the Lower Province. The settlement could not come while the Ministry of Lafontaine and Baldwin remained in power. Mr. Lafontaine, though a Liberal in politics and at one time a rebel sympathizer, had grown more moderate in his views as he grew older and more willing to see the best in everything rather than the worst. His reputation for pronounced common-sense and for personal honor and integrity, as well as a knowledge of his respect for vested rights, had yearly grown stronger as the storms of 1849 passed from public memory. He favored the retention of Seigneurial privileges in Lower Canada for reasons which it is not difficult to estimate and among which the desire to maintain the beneficial influence of the French-Canadian gentry over a more or less ignorant peasantry was not the least. He had no sympathy with demagogues and he had proved his faith in the people upon important issues and his belief in moderate Liberalism by the general policy of his Government. But he thought it was now time to rest for a while.

Mr. Baldwin's position was one of sympathy with the view of those who disapproved of the Reserves; but he did not go to the extreme of the agitators who could see nothing except that question upon the horizon and nothing to do in Canada until it was disposed of to their liking. He was inclined to let the matter drift and to join his colleagues in legislation along other and practical lines. The Government

had done a great deal for the Province during these years in useful work and actual achievement. They thoroughly reformed the Municipal system, which had been in a most chaotic condition; passed new laws regarding elections, education, and assessments; established Provincial credit abroad; obtained complete control from the Imperial Government over the Provincial Post-Office and established cheap and uniform rates of postage; reformed and remodeled the Courts of Justice in both sections of the Province; amended the exclusive and ecclesiastical charter of King's College, and organized the University of Toronto in its place upon a non-sectarian basis; abolished the principle of primogeniture in Upper Canada as applied to real estate, and inaugurated much important railway legislation. This is a splendid record of work for three years of power. Then, in October, 1851, came the retirement of Mr. Lafontaine, speedily followed by that of Mr. Baldwin. The former became Chief Justice of Lower Canada and was created a baronet in 1854; the latter retired into private life, refused a seat on the Bench and eventually accepted the honor of a C. B. from the Crown.

The Liberal Ministry was reorganized under Mr. A. N. Morin from Canada East and Mr. Francis Hincks from the West. The latter was one of the shrewdest men who have participated in the public life of Canada and naturally dominated the new Government in person and policy, although his chief colleague did not lack ability and certainly possessed wide popularity in Lower Canada. During the three following years the railway questions were more prominent than any other, although from time to time the Seigneurial Tenure and Clergy Reserves problems forced themselves upon political attention. The two latter were now, however, to be disposed of through the personal influence and policy of Mr. John A. Macdonald. His rise during preceding years had been slow and steady. He had not pressed any burning question upon the Province or identified himself with any racial or religious issue; but

had quietly grown into the confidence of his party chiefs and into the practical leadership of his party. Tact and conciliation were the principal qualities marking this progress. He seems to have seen clearly that the Toryism of Robinson, Draper, and McNab was not suited to the new conditions of the time; that no successful party could be built upon such racial issues as the Rebellion Losses Bill, or upon such historical incidents as the Rebellion itself; that Sir Allan McNab, brave old political warrior and chivalrous character as he was, could not possibly adapt himself to the new era of responsible and popular government; that the Tory party, if it were to live, must cease to be an organized negation and must assimilate outside elements while developing a creative policy of moderate reform.

He was greatly helped in this effort to evolve a new party by the policy of his vigorous and able opponent—Mr. George Brown. The latter is perhaps the most forcible and strenuous character in Canadian annals. Conscientious and sincere in the extreme, he was at the same time lacking in tact and in a wide view of public questions. Profound convictions, while always commanding respect, are sometimes apt to verge upon intolerance; and it was this imperious manner and dominating will which were at once the strong and the weak points in George Brown's great personality. As a virile journalist and head of the Toronto "Globe" he was naturally a power in the Province; as head of an uncompromising following in the Legislature during many years he was also a power in politics. But his influence was weakened by the limitations of his point of view. To him Upper Canada was everything, the United Province nothing in comparison.

Upper Canada was Protestant in religious belief, and, therefore, Protestant interests must be dominant in the politics and legislation of the Province. Upper Canada was English, and, therefore, English interests as opposed to French must be uppermost in public administration. Under the Union Act the basis of representation had been arranged upon an estimated equality of population in the two Canadas, although

Lower Canada was then much more populous than the Upper Province. Now that the position had been reversed, representation by population became his policy, and the very natural French-Canadian opposition to it was denounced as French and Catholic domination. His wing of the Liberal party became known as the "Clear Grit" party, and, as the years passed on, it played steadily into the hands of the new Toryism which was becoming known as Conservatism, while, at the same time, it worked havoc in the French and Liberal alliance. By 1854, it had helped to disgust Baldwin and Lafontaine with politics, had aided in defeating their successors in office, and had driven many of the moderate Liberals of Upper Canada, or Baldwin Reformers, as they were called, into the Conservative ranks.

The result of all these developments was the formation of a so-called coalition Government in September, 1854, with Sir Allan McNab, the Tory leader, as Premier, the Hon. A. N. Morin, the late Liberal leader in Lower Canada, as Attorney-General East, and the Hon. John A. Macdonald in the same position for the West. It is not hard to understand who was the real head of this Ministry. Like all Mr. Macdonald's coalitions, it was really an assimilation of lesser men into his own party for the purpose of carrying out his own views. The first indication of the change in party conditions was the secularization of the Clergy Reserves. The question had gone through various phases since Sir John Colborne had stirred up such bitter Radical dissatisfaction by his endowment of forty-four Rectories in Upper Canada in 1836. By an Imperial Act passed in 1840, the new Government of the United Province was given power to deal with the proceeds of the sales which had already taken place of land belonging to the Reserves, and to hand over two-thirds of the money to the Church of England and the other third to the Church of Scotland in Canada. The unappropriated lands, amounting to 1,800,000 acres, were also to be sold, and, of the proceeds, one-half was given to the Churches of England and Scotland in the above proportions and the remaining half devoted to

purposes of general public worship and religious education. This compromise had been welcomed at the time, and Lord Sydenham, whose child it really was, had congratulated himself upon the settlement of a question which had greatly complicated the troubles of the time.

But the problem would not down so long as there was an agitator in the Province who could make political capital out of a semi-religious issue, or out of the restless spirit of a democratic population which could not endure the expenditure of public moneys for any religious purpose whatever. For eight years following the revival of the question, in 1846, it took the form of an agitation for complete secularization and contributed to the downfall of Governments, the subdivision of parties, the intensifying of public strife. Finally, on May 9, 1853, the Imperial Parliament passed an Act transferring the control of the matter to the Provincial Legislature, and, on the 17th of October, 1854, Mr. Macdonald moved a measure of general secularization. The Rectories already established were not to be interfered with, and certain provisions were made for the widows and orphans of the clergy. The balance of the Reserves, as they should be sold, were to be divided among the townships in which they were situated upon a population basis and for purposes of education and local improvement.

At the same time that this measure was passing through the Assembly a Bill had been introduced by Mr. L. T. Drummond abolishing the Seigneurial Tenure in Lower Canada. No man in the Legislature was so well-fitted to deal with this important matter as the Attorney-General, East. He was a politician who occupies a large and yet obscure place in Canadian history. His abilities were very great, his popularity in Lower Canada among both French and English most pronounced and in those days unusual, while his eloquence was much more effective than that of many who occupy more prominent places in the popular mind. He had been eminent at the Bar and he lived to be eminent on the Bench. His speech upon the proposed abolition of an old-time

system, which, without being as useless or as injurious as its critics maintained, had yet fully outlived its value, was worthy of the occasion. The measure, which passed both Houses by good majorities, provided for the clearing away of all feudal privileges, rights, and dues in Lower Canada, for freedom of contract in land and labor to Seigneur and *cencitaire* (or peasant), and for compensation to the former in the case of all vested rights acquired by custom and the lapse of time.

A tribunal was appointed to settle questions which might arise out of the legislation and to distribute a Seigneurial indemnity which ultimately amounted to £650,000. This was the end of two questions which had destroyed the peace of politicians and the harmony of parties and increased the bitterness of controversies, already violent enough, during many years. The end was bound to come and the willingness of John A. Macdonald to meet the inevitable is creditable to his sagacity and hardly a reflection upon his consistency. He never affected to be a Tory of the Sherwood or Strachan type and could certainly have never achieved the great results of his career had he been so. They filled their niche in public life and national history; he lived in different times and adapted himself to the new conditions—as Disraeli was then beginning to do in England with the Tory party of his early days.

POLITICAL AND PERSONAL CHANGES

The next few years were chiefly marked by the personal struggle for supremacy between Macdonald and Brown, with an ever-increasing accession of strength to the former; and by complications rising out of the racial and religious rivalries of the time. The McNab-Morin Government, which was formed in 1854 upon the ruins of the Hincks-Morin administration, lasted for two years and was then reorganized for a year into the Taché-Macdonald Ministry. From 1855 Mr. George E. Cartier was a member of the Government. He had been steadily coming to the front in Lower Canada and

had joined Mr. Macdonald in an alliance which was destined to last for a quarter of a century and to contribute greatly to the success of the Conservative leader's plans. Like Lafontaine, he had been a rebel sympathizer in his youth, and, like him, also, had mellowed into a moderate Conservative with strong British leanings. The only difference was that the one refused to change his designation of Liberal, the other publicly accepted the new principles which the name of Conservative carried with it. Persevering and energetic in character, exhaustive and convincing, though not eloquent in speech; with the qualities of a statesman rather than a mere politician, Sir George Cartier became in time the chosen and powerful leader of his race.

Personal changes in the decade between 1854 and 1864 form the chief incidents of its political history. Sir Allan McNab retired in 1856 from a party leadership which ill-health and new conditions had rendered impossible; the Hon. L. T. Drummond disappeared from public life as a result of coming into conflict with Mr. Macdonald's ambitions; John Sandfield Macdonald rose into prominence as a somewhat erratic Liberal leader in the Upper part of the Province and Antoine Aimé Dorion replaced Lafontaine in the French leadership of the same party. The Governor-General, who had so greatly endeared himself to all classes of the Canadian people—Lord Elgin—retired in 1854, and, after rendering substantial service to his country, died while ruling the great Empire of India for the Queen. His successor, for seven years, was Sir Edmund Walker Head, and he, in 1861, was replaced by Lord Monck. They were both careful and wise administrators, who did much to smooth the still rugged edges of the new governmental system.

In 1857, upon the local and party issue which had been made out of the Queen's choice of Ottawa as the Provincial capital, the Government of Colonel Taché and John A. Macdonald was defeated, and the Liberals, under George Brown and A. A. Dorion, had the pleasure of holding office for two days. Then followed George E. Cartier and John A. Mac-

donald in a Conservative Ministry, which lasted amid varied shifts in policy and changes in *personnel* until 1862, when the Liberals came in again—under J. Sandfield Macdonald and L. V. Sicotte—for a couple of years, and with various changes, under one of which A. A. Dorion succeeded Sicotte as the French-Canadian leader in the Cabinet. Sir E. P. Taché and John A. Macdonald came into office in March, 1864, and, in 1865, the former was succeeded as nominal Premier by Sir N. F. Belleau.

Meanwhile, in November, 1864, George Brown had coalesced with the Conservative Government in an attempt to remedy the constitutional deadlock which was threatening the Province, and to bring about a radical cure for this evil and a brighter future for the country by the uniting of all the Provinces of British America in a Federal bond. With him were Liberals such as Oliver Mowat, William McDougall, and W. P. Howland. It had gradually become impossible to govern the Province under existing circumstances. There seemed to be no common bond of union among public men; no common principle of action in the so-called parties. George Brown, with his Protestant and anti-French section, had hopelessly divided the Liberal party in Lower Canada; while John Hillyard Cameron and the Orangemen formed a very uncertain portion of the Conservative party in Upper Canada. John A. Macdonald was an adept at winning the allegiance of his opponents and in making coalitions which brought him temporary strength from time to time; but it was not always easy to hold these recruits, and new issues were apt to divert their loyalty at critical moments. The Baldwin Reformers, or moderate Liberals, of the old school did not always stand by Macdonald, while the Roman Catholic vote in Upper Canada was always uncertain, and was controlled at times by John Sandfield Macdonald—himself a Scotch Catholic and powerful with the old-time Loyalist Highlanders. In the Lower part of the Province, there was the greatest uncertainty, and neither Morin nor Dorion nor Cartier was strong enough to dominate the situation—although

Cartier did ultimately do so in time to carry his Province into Confederation.

Some useful legislation—and some that was purely experimental—was effected even amid this confusion. The volunteer force was organized for home defence in 1855, as a result of the feeling aroused by the Crimean War, and ultimately, after a Government had been beaten upon details, a fairly good working system was evolved. In 1858, a limited policy of protection was established. In 1848, the clause in the Act of Union prohibiting the Legislature from using the French language was repealed.

In the Maritime Provinces matters had progressed much more sedately and satisfactorily. The constitutional storms were largely over, and the people had very sensibly devoted themselves to more material things. Sir Edmund Head, Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, Hon. J. H. T. Manners-Sutton, in New Brunswick, and Sir John Harvey, Sir J. G. Le Marchant, Lord Mulgrave (afterward Marquess of Normanby), Sir R. G. Macdonell, and Sir W. F. Williams, in Nova Scotia, proved themselves, upon the whole, to be very capable administrators. Questions of railway construction were prominent in both Provinces for years, and politics, never very violent in New Brunswick, were also comparatively quiet in the sister Province. Prohibition was a New Brunswick issue in the fifties, while the improvement of education was always a vital matter. The former principle first brought Samuel Leonard Tilley to the front as a Liberal leader and helped to make him Premier in 1861-65. Albert J. Smith, John M. Johnston, Peter Mitchell, and R. D. Wilmot were other political leaders of the decade before Confederation. In Nova Scotia, Joseph Howe and William Young remained the chiefs of Liberalism, with Adams G. Archibald as a later colleague; while the Conservative party was controlled by the veteran, James W. Johnston, and his successor, Charles Tupper.

RISE OF SIR CHARLES TUPPER

The rise of Dr. Tupper is perhaps the most important political event in the Provincial history of this period. To fearlessly face Joseph Howe upon the public platform and to defeat him in a Nova Scotian constituency, as Tupper did in the early fifties, was a most picturesque and striking event. But when it was followed up by the development of a strong personality which knew neither defeat nor fatigue nor rebuff, but swept through the Province like a whirlwind at every election—sometimes winning, sometimes losing, but always strong and resourceful—it was also a most important one. Dr. Tupper became Premier in 1864, after serving four years in preceding Cabinets. His chief act of Provincial legislation was the reorganization of the school system upon the basis of free attendance, and his most memorable public action during this period was his policy of joining in the Charlottetown Conference for the Union of the Maritime Provinces.

Prince Edward Island had, meantime, developed a serious agitation regarding the locking up of its lands in the possession of British absentee capitalists. Keen discussion with the Home Government had taken place, a responsible system of administration had slowly evolved for its tiny population, and with it, in 1860, had come the appointment of an Imperial Commission to settle the question. One of the Commissioners represented the Imperial authorities, one the tenants, and one was Mr. Joseph Howe. An adjustment of difficulties was made to the satisfaction of the Islanders, but it was not acceptable to the London authorities, and the matter was not really settled until the Island entered the Confederation in 1873. One useful thing was arranged, however, in the purchase by the Province of Lord Selkirk's estate of 62,000 acres, which was generously given up by the heirs for some £6,000 sterling. But the verge of a new and greater political development had now been reached—hastened, fortunately for the whole country, by external incidents of war and fiscal change.

CHAPTER XVI

RECIPROCITY AND THE UNITED STATES CIVIL WAR

THE question of reciprocity in trade, or tariffs, with the United States has been an important one to the Canadian Provinces in all the later stages of their history. It was discussed, even during the days of the navigation laws and the British preferential tariff, at such periods as the fluctuating tendencies of trade showed some possible advantage in obtaining freer admission to the American market or in the removal of the embargo upon American ships for the transport of products. But upon the whole, the fiscal preference in the British market was sufficient to hold the interests of the Provinces largely in line with those of England. After the abolition of the Corn Laws, however, with its opening of Canadian ports to foreign vessels, and the sudden destruction of industry and credit by the repeal of the preferential duties, the British Provinces began to look around for other markets and to cultivate possibilities in the Republic.

THE PUBLIC MIND TURNS TO THE STATES

They arranged their tariffs so as to treat Great Britain and the United States upon a basis of fiscal equality, and, though not yet decidedly protective in policy, began to indicate tendencies in that direction. From 1849, through immediately following years, the great desire of the people in the Canadas was for some arrangement with the States by which their farm products could obtain free entry to its market; while in the Maritime Provinces the pressing demand of the moment was for free fish in the same direction. Everywhere, also, there was a feeling of indignation, or regret, at the way in which Great Britain had apparently disregarded their interests in her sudden adoption of a cosmo-

politan trade principle and the bold initiation of a free import policy.

Naturally, perhaps, people had turned to the United States in the financial and commercial distress which followed the unfortunately hasty action of the Mother-country; and in the subsequent accession to office of Lord Elgin they found a man peculiarly suited to the exigencies of the moment. In this, as in every other important matter he encountered, that brilliant nobleman seems to have risen to the occasion. In 1854, accompanied by Mr. Francis Hincks and other delegates from Canada and the Maritime Provinces, the Governor-General proceeded, in some state and under instructions from the British Government, to negotiate, if possible, a treaty of reciprocity.

DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY

It was a difficult thing to do. There was no love lost between the American Republic and its Motherland at this time, though much the greater part of the hostility was felt by the former. The Oregon question, eight years before, had nearly resulted in conflict, and the war-cry of "Fifty-four, Forty, or Fight"—in reference to the latitude of the disputed boundary—had rung through the United States and been received with intense enthusiasm. The San Juan dispute had just commenced, and was also to see many threats of war before its final settlement.

But Lord Elgin came to Washington and carried everything before him. The result may have been partly due to American indifference regarding the Province in one direction and to the belief, in another, that reciprocity would hasten the inevitable day of annexation; but it was mainly due to Lord Elgin's personality and diplomacy. No doubt he played upon all the various feelings regarding the British Provinces, whether acquisitive, indifferent, or ignorant. No doubt, also, that nothing in the way of personal hospitality and the cultivation of friendships in securing the individual support of Senators was spared. Indeed it has been said

more than once in Washington, and repeated elsewhere, that the famous Treaty was floated through the Senate upon a sea of champagne. Whatever the causes, however, the astute Governor-General won the day, the measure passed the ordeal of Congress, and became law in the summer of the same year. This remarkable piece of diplomatic work was of much apparent service to the Provinces. It provided for a free exchange of the products of the sea, the farm, the forest, and the mine, and thus benefited Canadian farmers, lumbermen, and miners. It admitted the United States to the freedom of the rich Atlantic fisheries and to the benefits of Canadian canal and river navigation. But it was unfortunately found impossible to obtain the admission of Maritime Province ships to the American coasting trade. Eventually, also, trouble grew up as to the privileges which might be claimed for American manufactured goods under the general understanding, though not technical conditions, of the arrangement. On the other hand, the Americans soon diverted much of the transportation interests of the Provinces to their own channels of trade.

The details of the development in the Canadas which followed the acceptance of this Treaty are of great importance to a clear comprehension of local conditions and future changes. In the first place, the years which followed covered a period of pronounced increase in trade between the two countries. In 1854, the imports of the British Provinces from the United States amounted to $7,725,000, with $1,790,000 of foreign products—presumably British goods brought *via* American railways and shipping. The exports to the Republic in that year were $4,856,000 of dutiable goods and $322,000 of goods paying no duty. In 1866, when the arrangement was abrogated, the British Provinces had imported from the States $22,380,000 of their domestic products and $2,448,000 of foreign products. At the same time they had exported $43,029,000 of free goods and $5,499,000 of dutiable goods to the American market. As, however, the exports had been less by $10,000,000 in the preceding year,

there was no doubt a rush of produce across the line in 1866 to take advantage of the last days of the Treaty. Still, the increase had been very marked, and owing largely to extraneous conditions, had been exceedingly beneficial to the Canadian farmer.

CONDITIONS UNDER RECIPROCITY

The reasons were very simple and very plain. The Crimean War had first raised the price of wheat and other farm products, the American Civil War had maintained the higher rate, and, when the Treaty was abrogated, conditions were not sufficiently settled for a number of years after the wholesale withdrawal of millions of men from farming and other interests of the Republic to allow of prices being lowered to any considerable extent. It is not probable that the Reciprocity arrangement affected this condition to any great extent either one way or the other. Canadian food and farm products—wheat, oats, horses, cattle, sheep—were needed and would have been purchased with or without a Treaty. But appearances were certainly favorable to its reputation and many a farmer in Ontario to-day dates his father's prosperity and his own inheritance from the golden days of Reciprocity. In addition to the influence of war upon prices, the Provinces had also been in one of those periods of expansive development which cover all contemporary arrangements with a roseate flush of color. An era of active construction in public works commenced at the same time as the Treaty was inaugurated. The Grand Trunk Railway was built to the extent of 1,100 miles at a cost to the local authorities of $6,000,000, and with an estimated expenditure of $44,000,000 of British capital. The Victoria Bridge at Montreal, described by the American Consul at that city, in 1860, as "the great work of the age," was erected at a cost of nearly $7,000,000.

Everywhere money was being poured out upon all kinds of public works and interests. The country was changing from a pioneer community, with practically nothing but exports of timber in the market of the world, to an important commercial and financial country, and feeling its way toward

conditions which were to make a national union and a national structure necessary and possible. So far as the British Provinces were concerned, the net result of the Treaty was an apparent increase of trade—which would have come anyway; greater facilities for the interchange of goods; the building up of American railway and waterway and shipping interests at the expense of Canadian transportation routes; the sapping of what little sentiment there had been in favor of inter-Provincial trade by the steadily growing tendency of the Provinces to send their products to, and buy their goods from, the nearest and most convenient market—that of the States to the south. During the first year of the Treaty, Canadian imports and exports by the St. Lawrence had decreased from $33,600,000 to $18,000,000, and continued to do so, greatly to the benefit of United States trade routes. The prosperous condition of the country was, in reality, not due to Reciprocity, but to the causes already outlined. None the less, however, did the Treaty draw the ties between the two countries very close and render it a matter for grave alarm to the financial, commercial, and agricultural interests of the Provinces when the ill-feeling toward England, aroused by the Civil War, threatened its abrogation.

The balance of benefit in the arrangement was really with the United States. Americans enjoyed the free navigation of the St. Lawrence and the use of the costly system of canals which was slowly developing through the expenditure of Provincial money. British-American fisheries were open to the fishermen of the Republic, and M. E. H. Derby, in his Report to Congress upon the results of the Treaty, stated the number of American fishing vessels in Canadian waters in 1862 as numbering 3,815. Six hundred sail during a single season had fished for mackerel in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, taking fish to the value of $4,500,000. Meantime, hardly a British smack found its way into American waters. The increase of trade was a boon to American interests before the Civil War as well as afterward. During the twelve years of the Treaty $112,000,000 worth of breadstuffs were sent

to the Provinces—largely between 1854 and 1860—and $88,000,000 of manufactured goods. As early as January, 1856, a Special Committee of the New York Chamber of Commerce reported that: "The result can not fail to be greatly advantageous to both countries. While the trade of Canada by the St. Lawrence with England has been reduced, that with the United States has been augmented; our canals and railroads have been enriched by the transportation of their surplus productions; our neighbors have purchased largely in our markets of domestic manufactures; and our vessels have had the advantage of an increased foreign trade."

Two years later the same body of commercial and financial magnates declared by Resolution that the arrangement was "one of the most important commercial treaties ever made by our Government." On February 10, 1862, the Chicago Board of Trade declared that "the Treaty has been of great value to the producing interests of the whole (American) Northwest." On March 8, 1864, the Boston Board of Trade stated that its continuance "is demanded by the interests of American commerce"; while on December 9th of the same year, the Detroit Board of Trade declared that the agricultural and commercial interests of the Northwest were almost unanimous in favor of its renewal and that, "in whatever way we view the Treaty it has been of vast importance to us as well as to the Colonies." So much for business opinions of the arrangement in the United States as apart from political sentiment and easily aroused international animosities. According to American figures also—the Treasury Department Bureau of Statistics—there was a distinct balance of trade in favor of the Republic during the period to the extent of $54,000,000. The amount of exports to the Provinces was given at $350,576,000 and the imports from them at $295,766,000.

WHY THE TREATY WAS ABROGATED

Meanwhile, events were evolving which were to destroy the Treaty and help to effect a constitutional revolution in

the Provinces. The chief nominal cause of its abrogation in 1866 was an attempt by Canada to protect its industries in a very moderate and tentative fashion. The financial crisis of 1857 in the United States had considerably affected Canadian interests for a time and proved an interregnum in the general prosperity of the period. Banks had failed, investments been curtailed, Provincial revenues greatly lessened, and a deficit created which, in 1858, amounted to $2,000,000. Something had therefore to be done with the tariff. Mr. A. T. Galt, who held the position in the Cartier-Macdonald Government which corresponded with the later one of Finance Minister, undertook to rearrange the duties so as to increase the revenue, and, incidentally, to afford some slight protection to home industries. He explained publicly, that "the policy of the Government in readjusting the tariff has been, in the first place, to obtain sufficient revenue for the public wants; and, secondly, to do so in such a manner as shall most fairly distribute the burden upon the different classes of the community." And, then, he went on to say that the Government would be satisfied "if it found that the increased duties absolutely required to meet its engagements should incidentally benefit and encourage the production in this country."

This was the first practical development of protection in Canada, and it was none the less protection because of being termed "incidental." As an illustration of the policy it may be pointed out that the duty on boots and shoes and harness goods was raised from 12½ per cent in 1855 to 20 per cent in 1857 and 25 per cent in 1859. On cotton, iron, silk, and woolen manufactures the duties were advanced from 12½ per cent in 1855 to 15 per cent in 1857 and 20 per cent in 1859. Speaking at Hamilton, in 1861, Mr. John A. Macdonald declared that "it is a matter for consolation that the tariff has been so adapted as, incidentally, to encourage manufacturing industries here." The immediate result of this policy was an equalization of revenue and expenditure and the raising of a controversy with certain British interests which objected

to Colonial tariffs upon their goods and were not yet educated up to the full and inevitable effect of abrogating the mutual preferential duties in favor of British and Colonial products which had existed prior to 1846. The manufacturers of Sheffield and other places wanted their own hands freed, but were apparently not quite ready to accord the same fiscal freedom to Canadian interests.

Mr. Galt maintained a strong and spirited correspondence with the Colonial Office in connection with these protests, as did one of his successors, the Hon. John Rose, and the ultimate result was a complete recognition of the Colonial right to impose duties for either revenue or protective purposes upon British and foreign goods. Very unfairly the Galt tariff was also used by politicians in the United States who were hostile to England, or Canada, or both, as a lever to force the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty. Although millions of dollars' worth of manufactures were being sent every year into the Provinces, and although such products were deliberately excluded from the purview of the original Treaty, yet it was claimed that this readjusted tariff of the Canadas was, in some unspecified way, an infringement of British obligations under the international arrangement. This contention was maintained until the very end, and despite such statements as that of James W. Taylor, in an elaborate Report to the United States Secretary of the Treasury in March, 1860, that "our manufacturers demand that Canada shall restore the scale of duties existing when the Reciprocity Treaty was ratified, on penalty of its abrogation. When it is considered that the duties imposed by the American tariff of 1857 are fully 25 per cent higher than the corresponding rates of the Canadian tariff, the demand borders on arrogance." Nor does the claim seem to have been affected even by the similar declaration of the New York Chamber of Commerce, on December 21, 1864, that "the additional duties on our manufactured imports into Canada are still moderate and are for revenue purposes only; and that, with our own present high tariff, we are the last persons who have

a right to complain of any similar procedure; and that, notwithstanding, our manufacturers find a large outlet in that direction." Five years before this, in 1859, when Lord Napier, then British Ambassador at Washington, submitted proposals for "the confirmation and expansion of free commercial relations between the United States and the British Provinces," they had been declined.

Yet a Committee of the American Congress made this contention the string upon which to hang a somewhat bitter indictment against Canada for illiberality and unfairness. To it Mr. Galt replied,* by quoting the perfect freedom of the St. Lawrence from the Great Lakes to the ocean; the absence of lighthouse dues; the repeal of tonnage dues on Lake St. Peter; the abolition of tolls on all vessels, whether American or Canadian; the opening of extensive districts, east and west, free from all customs dues whatever. He pointed out that Canada had a perfect right to arrange its tariffs upon goods expressly excluded from the Treaty, in such a manner as was best suited to its own interests. He declared that, on the other hand, the United States had not acted fairly in many matters. They had imposed heavy consular fees on proof of origin, which became tantamount to a duty, and which were not removed until after two years of protest and negotiation. They subjected to duty flour ground in Canada from American wheat which was free by treaty. They imposed a tax upon timber cut in Canada out of American saw-logs, although Canadian saw-logs were free. Canada admitted the registration of foreign vessels without charge; the United States did not. Canada admitted American craft free of all toll or charge through her system of canals to the sea; but no Canadian boat was allowed, even on payment of toll, to enter an American canal—despite the express stipulation in the Treaty itself, that "the Government of the United States further engages to secure to the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty the use of the several State canals

* Canadian Sessional Papers, No. 23, vol. v, 1862.

on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the United States." Foreign goods were constantly bought in the American market and brought into Canada, paying duty only upon the original foreign invoice; but American law forbade anything of the kind being done in Canada.

Such was the general Canadian position regarding the Treaty and the nominal cause of its abrogation. It is not probable that the American complaints concerning the Galt Tariff would have been sufficiently strong, or have had enough strength behind them, to procure or even seriously to endanger its existence, had there not arisen the intense anti-British feeling which marked the progress of the *Trent* Affair, and had been first stirred up by the escape of the *Alabama* and the supposed sympathy of Great Britain and Canada with the South. When this spirit developed the abrogation became practically inevitable, although the business interests of the country were opposed to such an action, and various Chambers of Commerce continued to press the desirability of retaining or renewing the Treaty. One of the notable efforts made in this direction was the holding of an international Reciprocity Convention at Detroit. It was opened on July 11, 1865, and many who were then, or afterward became, well known in business or politics in the British Provinces were present—notably Joseph Howe, William McMaster, Adam Brown, Billa Flint, Isaac Buchanan, Elijah Leonard, J. L. Beaudry, L. H. Holton, Sir Hugh Allan, E. H. King, Charles J. Brydges, Peter Redpath, James Skead, Charles Fisher, A. E. Botsford, George Coles, Erastus Wiman, and John McMurrich.

American delegates were in attendance from New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, St. Louis, Boston, and from almost every important town or district north of Washington. A Resolution was finally passed asking for fresh negotiations and a new Treaty. The most striking event of the gathering was the wonderfully eloquent speech of Joseph Howe. It was logical in argument, forceful in presenting the British and Canadian case, and effective in its personal impres-

siveness beyond any other Canadian comparison. Nothing, however, could overcome the feeling which prevailed among the American delegates, and was strengthened by pressure from Washington, that any strong approval of the Treaty, or even of its eventual renewal, would retard the supposed Canadian movement toward annexation. It was believed and freely pointed out that a period of fiscal coercion would greatly assist this tendency.

When the notice of abrogation was first given in 1865 it came with something of a shock to the Canadian people. They had grown so accustomed to the absence of tariff walls in all matters connected with the products of the farm, the forest, the mines, and the fisheries, that their coming reconstruction was looked upon with actual dismay and fear. Business and transportation interests had become so assimilated with those of the United States that a sudden and serious change of this sort threatened to precipitate a financial panic. Talk of annexation as the only way out of a *cul-de-sac* actually did become rampant in some quarters, and further increased the fear in other directions as to what the end of it all would be. Interests built up as a result of twelve years of close trade relations between the two countries trembled on the verge of ruin. The Government appealed to the Mother-country to try and avert what they declared the people would regard as "a great calamity." John A. Macdonald, George E. Cartier, George Brown, and A. T. Galt were sent post-haste to England to point out that the whole trade of Canada would have to be turned into new channels and much disaster follow if something could not be done to renew the arrangement. Of course, the Imperial Government did what it could, and, in 1866, A. T. Galt and W. P. Howland from Canada, W. A. Henry from Nova Scotia, and A. J. Smith from New Brunswick, met Sir Frederick Bruce, the British Minister at Washington. Through him they tried to negotiate a renewal. It was useless, however, and in the succeeding year the Treaty ceased to exist. At the same time the Fenian raids took place, and added the danger and the

fact of actual aggression to Canadian fears of commercial disaster and restriction.

The whole trouble arose out of the American Civil War and the irremovable impression of the Northern States that English sympathy was with their antagonists. There is no doubt that a majority of the British aristocracy sympathized with the South; that Palmerston and Gladstone and other leaders had expressed feelings of this kind in language as plain as it was unwise; that the great Reviews and many of the newspapers of England believed the war to be one of conquest and not of national unity. But the Queen is now known to have not only approved the cause of the North, but to have held back her Government from that formal recognition of the Southern States which would have made France and England their inevitable allies; leaders of such opposite schools of thought as Disraeli and Bright warmly espoused the side of the North; the men of Lancashire, dependent upon the receipt of Southern cotton for their manufactures, preferred to starve, and actually did starve, rather than ask their Government to interfere in the contest; the Government eventually refused the overtures of Napoleon III to intervene, despite the close relations of the time with France and the close personal friendship between the Queen and the Emperor and Empress. Canada, on her side, contributed thousands of volunteers to the Northern armies, and never showed any official sympathy with the South, whatever individuals may have felt.

But all this was nothing in comparison with the accidental escape of the *Alabama,* and the storm which found expression after the seizure of Mason and Slidell in a British ship and the necessity of surrendering them again to the Power which had been insulted. The first result of the feeling thus aroused was the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, the second was the tacit encouragement given to the Fenian movement upon Canada, the third was the pressing of the *Alabama* claims to the point of war, the fourth was the Treaty of Washington in 1871.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CONFEDERATION OF THE PROVINCES

THE union of all the Provinces of British America did not come in a moment nor did it come, as superficial observers sometimes say, because political complications had arisen in the Canadas. Despite this belief and the assertion of Mr. Goldwin Smith that the parent of Canadian Confederation was constitutional deadlock, it appears evident to the close student of history that the political issue was only one of many undercurrents trending in the same direction and all combining to make federation inevitable, as well as desirable. The idea, as practically considered in 1864 and achieved in 1867, was not a new one in itself nor was it the possession of any single mind in the annals of British America.

EARLY ADVOCATES OF THE IDEA

Aside from proposals by Francis Nicholson, Governor Hutchinson, Benjamin Franklin, and William Smith for the application of the scheme to all the American Colonies in days before the Revolution, its first formal suggestion in the British America of the present time was by Richard J. Uniacke, in the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, in 1800. This was followed in 1814 by the probably quite independent and original advocacy of the Hon. Jonathan Sewell, in his well-known correspondence with H.R.H. the Duke of Kent. Mr. Sewell, afterward Chief Justice of Quebec, and during many years a prominent figure in the politics of his Province, proposed a federal union of all the Provinces with one Assembly of thirty members. The Queen's father, who had always taken a deep interest in British America, besides serving at both Halifax and Quebec

in command of the troops, went carefully into the matter and suggested as a preliminary the legislative union of the Canadas in one division and of the Maritime Provinces in another, with a Federal Government at Quebec, for the whole. Ten years later, Chief Justice Sewell, Chief Justice Sir John Beverley Robinson of Upper Canada, and Bishop Strachan presented a pamphlet scheme for a general union to the Imperial authorities.

THE IDEA FINDS MANY SUPPORTERS

So far, the idea had been essentially a Tory one, and it was treated with contumely by French Canadians as well as by Radical leaders. But about this time it was supported in a tentative and theoretical way by Robert Gourlay and W. L. Mackenzie, and, in 1837-38, was favored in more or less academic resolutions by both the British House of Commons and the Upper Canada Legislature. Then came the recommendation of Lord Durham and the union of the Canadas. In 1849 the Canadian Legislative Council declared in favor of federation, while the troubles at Montreal and elsewhere in connection with Rebellion losses legislation, British free-trade legislation, and the Annexation movement of the same year, induced the British North American League to include Confederation as a first and foremost plank in its platform. The advocates of the policy in this popular body, it is worthy of notice, were largely enthusiastic young Tories under the leadership of the now rising politician—the Hon. John A. Macdonald. In 1851 the latter attended a mass meeting in Montreal and supported a resolution in favor of the principle, while about the same time the Hon. Henry Sherwood, an old-time Loyalist and Tory leader, published a strongly favorable pamphlet.

During the next few years the Hon. James W. Johnston, Conservative leader in Nova Scotia, Mr. Pierce S. Hamilton, an able publicist and writer in the same Province, and the Hon. J. H. Gray in New Brunswick, all supported the idea in speeches or writings. Mr. Johnston and the Hon. A. G.

Archibald urged the proposal officially in 1857, and about the same time there appeared its first popular advocacy by a French Canadian in the form of a series of letters by Mr. J. C. Taché in "Le Courrier du Canada." During 1858 the Hon. A. T. Galt, in various speeches, and the Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee in the Legislative Assembly of the Canadas, favored the policy, while it received for the first time an official Canadian imprimatur by the Governor-General, Sir Edmund W. Head, announcing at the closing of the Session that he intended to communicate upon the subject with the Imperial Government and the Governments of the other Colonies, and that he was "desirous of inviting them to discuss with us the principles on which a bond of a federal character uniting the Provinces of British North America may, perhaps, hereafter be practicable."

In the same year his Government sent Messrs. Cartier, Galt, and John Ross to England for the purpose of inviting the Home Government to appoint Delegates from all the Provinces to discuss a federal union. Naturally, and properly, the Imperial authorities did not see their way to assume such a responsibility and preferred leaving the seed to grow in its own soil until a stage of fruition had been reached in which the various branches of a single stem might draw together of their own volition.

About the time of this mission to England, Mr. Alexander Morris—long afterward Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Justice of Manitoba in succession—delivered a somewhat famous lecture in Montreal and published it under the title of "Nova Britannia." In it he foretold a future fusion of races in British America, a union of all the Provinces and territories from ocean to ocean and a railway to the Pacific. During the same year, and in the Montreal "Gazette," there appeared a strong letter in favor of union written by James Anderson and significant for its reference to John A. Macdonald as "the primary mind of the Canadian Legislative Assembly" and as long since prepared for carrying out this policy. Upon the failure of the Canadian Delegation already referred to,

the Maritime Provinces sent another one and it was assured that no obstacles would be placed in the way of union—Mr. Labouchere, the Colonial Secretary, and afterward Lord Taunton, going so far as to say that he thought a union among the Maritime Provinces themselves would be exceedingly beneficial. The question now became more and more widely discussed. Tariff and railway matters brought the Provinces from time to time before the attention of portions of the British public, while the idea itself was slowly but surely sifting into and permeating the minds of people in the Provinces.

In 1859 a gathering of Bristol merchants urged the importance of the proposed Inter-Colonial Railway as a help toward union, and a little later, in one of the eddying currents of political opinion during that period of conflict, a Liberal Convention at Toronto passed a resolution deprecating federal union. In the following year the Halifax "Reporter" supported the principle strenuously, and one of its editorials on the subject is said to have received the approval of the Prince of Wales when he was starting from Halifax upon his tour of the Provinces. Dr. Charles Tupper, about the same time, lectured in its favor at St. John, and in the succeeding year Mr. John A. Macdonald declared in an address to the electors of Kingston, that "the Government will not relax its exertions to effect a Confederation of the British North American Provinces." About the same time, also, Mr. Joseph Howe moved a Resolution in the Nova Scotian Assembly asking the Lieutenant-Governor to ascertain the views of the Colonial Secretary, the Governor-General, and the other Lieutenant-Governors upon the question. From the Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary, came an intimation in reply that if the Provinces took any action in the matter the result would be weighed by Her Majesty's Government "with no other feeling than an anxiety to discern and promote any course most conducive to the prosperity, the strength, and the harmony" of the British communities in North America.

Finally, in 1864, Mr. George Brown reported from, and

on behalf of, a Committee of the Canadian Legislature in favor of Confederation. Just at this moment Resolutions appointing Delegates to meet at Charlottetown for the purpose of discussing a union of the Maritime Provinces had been passed in the Legislature of Nova Scotia, mainly through the initiative of Dr. Tupper, in that of New Brunswick through the exertions of Mr. S. L. Tilley, and in the Legislature of Prince Edward Island through the influence of Mr. W. H. Pope. The Conference met and received a deputation from the Province of Canada composed of John A. Macdonald, George Brown, George E. Cartier, A. T. Galt, T. D'Arcy McGee, Alexander Campbell, and H. L. Langevin. The result of the representations made by the Canadians was a decision to enlarge the scope and policy of the Convention so as to cover all the Provinces and to adjourn with a view of meeting in a fuller and more authoritative gathering for a discussion of the greater federal union.

CAUSES OF CONFEDERATION

How the movement had come to reach this advanced stage is an interesting story. As already stated, there was no single cause sufficiently strong to have forced it to a head. There was, however, the concurrent pressure of a number of influences which, in concrete form, brought about the result. First and foremost was the growing hostility of the United States as exhibited in the *Trent* Affair, embodied in newspaper articles against England, and impressed upon the Provinces by the threatened abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty. Then, there existed a feeling in many far-seeing minds that there was, perhaps, a deeper danger in the existing development of the separated Provinces toward the United States in a commercial and financial sense, than there would be in any condition of actual and permanent antagonism upon the part of the Republic. If matters went on as they were going and the Reciprocity Treaty should be renewed it seemed apparent to these thinkers that the ties between the Provinces and individual States to the south would become so strong

as to draw the former still further from each other and make a future united British country practically impossible.

The Colonial Office had also commenced to take an interest in the matter, and the rejection of a Militia Bill in the Canadian Legislature from purely partisan motives, at a critical moment in the *Trent* Affair, when England was pouring troops by thousands into British America, had aroused attention to the weakness of the Provinces from a defensive standpoint and to the greater weakness arising out of politics which were truly Provincial in their pettiness and yet injurious in their strength of feeling. To obtain organization in a military sense it was seen that organization in a constitutional sense must first be created, and from the earlier "sixties" onward the Imperial Government consistently but quietly utilized its influence to forward the idea of unity and federation. Lord Monck, who became Governor-General in 1861, used all his ability and the silent, continuous pressure of viceregal approval to advance the principle; Lieutenant-Governors were appointed with distinct, though private, instructions along the same line and at least one of them was removed for expressions unfavorable to the policy. This was an important aid to the inception of Confederation which is often overlooked.

Equally important, but not of supreme importance in the evolution of the movement, was the deadlock in Government which arose at Ottawa. The conflicting elements in this trouble were almost innumerable though a few stand out with greater prominence than others. The racial feeling was still strong in Lower Canada and found frequent expression in the Legislature, in the choice of political leaders, in the almost bewildering difficulties of Cabinet formation. The absence of a Prime Minister in the full constitutional sense of the word and the existence of two leaders in the Cabinet with distinct territorial and racial jurisdiction (the Attorneys-General of Canada East and West) was a source of endless and inevitable confusion. The slow but steady disruption of the Liberal party by the formation of George Brown's anti-French and anti-Catholic organization and the

vigorous, slashing style of the "Globe" under his control were elements which naturally added to the complexities of the situation. It took time also for Mr. Macdonald's new party to evolve, and the French Canadians were slow to leave their racial unity of thought and action and to divide in a party sense—even under the goad of George Brown's continued onslaughts in connection with the question of representation by population. They had so long and harmoniously called themselves Radicals, or Liberals, or Reformers; they had so bitterly fought the Tories, or Conservatives, in the first forty years of the century; they had so strongly regarded the latter as identified with a hated form of British racial supremacy, that it was difficult even for the most tactful of statesmen to change their party allegiance. The change was bound to be a slow one, and, in the meantime, the deadlock came when no party in the nominally united Provinces could form or hold a Government.

Other and minor influences there were in the development toward union. The politicians of the Provinces were becoming better known to one another and their frequent conferences upon railway and other matters insensibly taught them the common interests which should exist, and really did exist, among their peoples. With the increase of population and the growth of railways there came also some measure of increased intercourse and trade—though these were greatly checked by the close relation with southern neighbors. A certain element among the people—many of them French Canadians—dreamed of a distant future of complete independence, and there were men in all the Provinces favorable to Confederation as a step in that direction. Others wanted annexation and thought this policy would make them strong enough to, some day, throw off "the bonds of British connection," and to then throw themselves into the arms of the Republic. Loyalists of the olden type—and they were still numerous—felt that the only hope of protecting their independence from the United States was by a policy of uniting British resources in the creation of a strong British state.

Thus, all kinds of cross-currents of vague opinion were being gradually molded into shape and prepared for supporting the general principles of unity. During the succeeding years, 1865-66, the abrogation of Reciprocity and the Fenian raids were to change greatly the course of minor streams of thought and unite public sentiment in favor of Confederation as the only safeguard against an American policy of either coercion or conciliation. Though in the first instance one of many original causes of Confederation, this feeling became in the end the predominant popular reason for approval of a policy which by 1865 was practically consummated.

A MEMORABLE CONFERENCE

The Conference of statesmen which met at Quebec on October 10, 1864, was a memorable gathering in Canadian history. The "Fathers of Confederation," who then met with the object of laying the constitutional foundations of a new British nation, were men of great ability in many cases, of much local influence in all cases. Some of them would have graced the matured councils of an empire instead of the infant stages of national construction. Canada was well represented. Its master-mind, in the person of John A. Macdonald, was then in all the vigor of his keen, constructive intellect, and a subtle, supple comprehension of the quick-changing fancies of the public and its political leaders. Marred as his ability was by the weakness which at times detached him from serious matters and plunged his genial personality in a self-indulgence which would have ruined any lesser man, there could be no doubt of his foremost place in any gathering of contemporaries. Sir Etienne Paschal Taché, the cultured, patriotic French-Canadian gentleman who once declared that the last gun fired in North America in defence of British connection would be fired by one of his race, was there, and with unanimous approval took the place of Chairman.

George Brown, the energetic, forceful personality, the honest lover of his country, the bitter antagonist of French

or Catholic supremacy in its affairs, was present with a sincere desire to advance that cause of union which, for some years, he had been most earnestly advocating. George Etienne Cartier, the admirer and friend and colleague of "John A.," was there as representative of the growing Conservative party of French Canada. Alexander Tilloch Galt, independent in view, sturdy in character, honest in purpose, was present as representative and guardian of the Protestant interests of the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada. William McDougall, a singularly able man with a disappointing subsequent career; Thomas D'Arcy McGee, a brilliant Irishman of patriotic and eloquent personality and with a melancholy death not very far away in the fields of fate; Oliver Mowat, a rising Liberal leader; Alexander Campbell, and James Cockburn, two prominent Conservative politicians; Hector Louis Langevin and Jean Charles Chapais, two French Canadians of acknowledged ability, completed the list of Delegates from the Canadas.

From Nova Scotia came the strenuous, aggressive, forceful personality of Charles Tupper, able and eloquent, and destined to be the life-long friend and ultimate successor of Sir John Macdonald. With him were well-known men in the field of local politics—W. A. Henry, a future Judge of the Supreme Court of Canada; Jonathan McCully and R. B. Dickey, members of its future Senate; Adams George Archibald, a Lieutenant-Governor of two of its coming Provinces. From New Brunswick came the suave, pleasant, and popular Samuel Leonard Tilley, an able politician and a good financier of the future. With him were John M. Johnston, Charles Fisher, Peter Mitchell, Edward Barron Chandler, W. H. Steeves, and John Hamilton Gray—only one of whom, in the person of Peter Mitchell, can be said to have obtained a national reputation; yet all of whom were men of marked ability in different ways and differing degrees. Prince Edward Island was represented by Colonel Gray, Edward Palmer, afterward its Chief Justice, W. H. Pope, George Coles, Edward Whelan, T. H. Haviland, and A. A. Macdonald—the two last

living to preside over their native Province as Lieutenant-Governors. Newfoundland, though it shared the policy of its sister Island in ultimately refusing for a time to enter Confederation, sent Delegates to the Conference in the persons of F. B. T. Carter and Ambrose Shea—each of whom in later days won his knighthood from the Crown.

Such was the gathering which, after prolonged discussion, finally passed the seventy-two Resolutions which practically constituted the British North America Act of 1867—so far as the terms and conditions of that measure were concerned. There was, however, a long struggle before success came, and the causes and sentiments, already referred to, had been given the opportunity of crystallizing into a general acceptance of the document. The Union Resolutions were adopted in the Canadian Assembly, in 1865, by ninety-one to thirty-three votes, and in the Council by eighty-five to forty-five votes—fifty-four from Upper Canada and thirty-seven from Lower Canada constituting the favorable vote in the Assembly. After two general elections in New Brunswick and a passing change of Government the Resolutions were approved in July, 1866, by good majorities. In Nova Scotia, as in Canada, the Resolutions were adopted by the Legislature—on motion of the Hon. Dr. Tupper in the Assembly and by a vote of thirteen to nineteen—without a general election.

In this latter Province grave troubles were to ensue as a result of Joseph Howe's opposition to Confederation. He had been excluded from the Conferences for reasons technically correct, but which seem, in the judgment of later times, to have been politically unwise. The decision to oppose the measure does not appear to have been a sudden one, but to have developed out of reasons beyond his control, and, perhaps, chiefly because of the impossibility of two such Cæsars as Tupper and Howe ruling in the same party organization at the same time. There were, of course, other men of prominence in the Provinces who had not been members of the Quebec Conference. Sir N. F. Belleau, John Hillyard Cameron, Malcolm Cameron, P. J. O. Chauveau, Antoine Aimé

Dorion, M. H. Foley, Luther Hamilton Holton, J. Sandfield Macdonald, John Rose, and Francis Hincks were none of them present—some, perhaps, because of known opposition to the scheme; Francis Hincks, because of absence from the scene of his many political labors as Governor of British Guiana. But all of them put together were not as important at this juncture as Joseph Howe. While his constructive statesmanship does not seem to have been remarkable, the effect of his eloquence would have been very great, and, could it have been brought to bear in all the Provinces at a later period, must have hastened the growth of a Canadian sentiment which proved rather slow in maturing.

COMPLETING THE CONSTITUTION

In December, 1866, Delegates from the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick met in London to make the final preparations and to see the measure through the Imperial Parliament. Mr. John A. Macdonald was appointed Chairman of the Conference, and, of those who had been at Quebec, Messrs. McDougall, Tilley, Tupper, Cartier, Galt, McCully, Fisher, Johnston, Mitchell, Archibald, Langevin, and Henry were also present, as were three new men—J. W. Ritchie, W. P. Howland, and R. D. Wilmot. The final details were settled, and, on the 28th of March, 1867, the Resolutions, after passing through the Imperial Parliament as the British North America Act, received the Queen's assent, and became the constitution of the New Dominion* of Canada on the ensuing 1st of July.

Under the terms of this Federal constitution, or by virtue of British precedents and practices afterward read into it, the following system was established, or has in its working details been since evolved:

1. A Governor-General representing the Sovereign, ap-

* It is to be regretted, in light of later Imperialistic developments, that Sir John Macdonald's proposal in the first draft of the Act to make the title, "Kingdom of Canada," should have been opposed by Lord Stanley (16th Earl of Derby), who was then the Foreign Secretary, as being likely to offend the susceptibilities of the United States.

pointed by the Crown for five years, and holding, practically, the same place in the Canadian constitution as the Queen does in that of Great Britain.

2. A Cabinet composed of members of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, who may be chosen from either branch of Parliament, and whose chief is termed the Premier. He has usually been leader of the House of Commons as well as the recognized leader of his party. The Cabinet must command the support or confidence of a majority in the Commons. The Ministers may vary in number as well as the Departments of Government—the administration of which usually falls to members of the Cabinet.

3. A Senate, whose members are appointed for life by the Governor-General-in-Council. It is composed of seventy-eight members, who must possess property qualifications, be thirty years of age and British subjects. They receive $1,000 for a Session of thirty days, with traveling expenses.

4. A House of Commons composed of members elected for a maximum period of five years by popular vote—from 1898, under the franchise of the different Provinces. There is no property qualification, but members must be at least twenty-one years of age, British subjects, and not disqualified by law. There are 213 members, and the Sessional allowance is $1,000.

5. The Provincial Governments are composed of the Lieutenant-Governor, appointed for a term of five years by the Governor-General-in-Council (which phrase usually means the Dominion Cabinet); the Ministry, composed of Departmental officers selected from either House of the Legislature, and often having additional members without office or emolument; a Legislative Council,* in Nova Scotia and Quebec, composed of members appointed by the Provincial Government, or Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, and in Prince Edward Island elected by the people; and a Legislative As-

* Ontario decided to dispense with a Council altogether, British Columbia at a later date did the same, and Manitoba and New Brunswick have since abolished theirs.

sembly elected for four years by popular vote. In all the Provinces manhood suffrage, limited by residence and citizenship, is the law, except in Prince Edward Island.

Under the terms of Union, the Dominion Parliament was to have control of the general affairs of the country, including all matters not specifically delegated to the Provincial authorities—the reverse of the United States system and of the Australian constitution lately (1900) completed. The chief subjects of Federal control were the regulation of trade and commerce; the postal system; the public debt, public property, and borrowing of money on the credit of the Dominion; the militia and all matters connected with the local defence of the country; navigation, shipping, quarantine, and the coast and inland fisheries; currency, coinage, banks, weights and measures, bills and notes, bankruptcy and insolvency; copyright, and patents of inventions and discovery; Indians, naturalization, and aliens; marriage and divorce; customs and excise duties; public works, canals, railways, and penitentiaries; criminal law and procedure.

The Provincial Legislatures were to have control of certain specified subjects, including direct taxation; the borrowing of money on Provincial credit; the management and sale of local public lands and of the wood and timber thereon; the establishment, maintenance, and management of prisons and reformatories, hospitals, asylums, and charitable institutions generally; licenses to saloons, taverns, shops, and auctioneers; certain specified public works within the Province; the administration of justice under certain jurisdictions and Provincial Courts; together with education and municipal institutions.

Under the terms of the Act, Ontario, or Upper Canada, has 92 representatives in the House of Commons; Quebec, or Lower Canada, 65; Nova Scotia, 20; New Brunswick, 14. As the other Provinces came into the Union Prince Edward Island was given 5 members, Manitoba, 7, British Columbia, 6, and the North-West Territories, 4. The basis, according to population, is that of Quebec, with its 65 members, and

a rearrangement takes place after each decennial Census. The average population to each representative is 22,688. In this way was settled the point for which George Brown had so strenuously struggled, and the influence of French Canada —if united from a racial point of view—was left to depend upon its comparative population, and not upon the arbitrary equality of representation created by the Act of Union in 1841. Fortunately for the new Dominion, a division along racial lines has only occasionally taken place, and never in the form of fractious hostility to which politicians of the earlier period and the lesser Union were too well accustomed.

CHAPTER XVIII

COMPLETING CONFEDERATION

THE bringing together of the old and historic Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick in a federal bond was a difficult and important task, and enough in itself to constitute the life-work of a statesman. To complete this union by the acquisition of the great Northwest, and of prairies and mountains stretching in millions of square miles to the far Pacific, was a work which, in national possibilities, was even greater. It must be remembered, in estimating the importance of any one man in connection with what may be termed the making of Canada, that it was the good fortune and the statecraft of Sir John Macdonald which enabled him not only to have the largest popular place and the chief constructive share in the confederation of the older Provinces, but also, as Prime Minister, to preside over the admission of Manitoba, the formation of the North-West Territories, and the admission of British Columbia and Prince Edward Island.

THE STATECRAFT OF SIR JOHN MACDONALD

In addition to this, it was his privilege to watch over and guide the early operation of the new constitution and to influ-

once the later creation of a sincere and powerful national sentiment—without which Confederation was simply a structure built on shifting sand. None of these stages in expansion or progress was, however, of easy attainment. Each had to be beaten off the anvil of the fates with fire and hard labor.

It could not have been without a shade of sympathetic regret that the thoughtful observer, toward the end of the sixties, should have witnessed the approaching fall of the Hudson's Bay Company as a great land power, and its probable subsidence into the humdrum existence of a mere trading corporation under constitutional control. Its history had been a great and romantic one, and, though marred by occasional acts of violence, or folly, had upon the whole been of service to the Empire's expansion and commerce, and a considerable addition to its store of great traditions. It was in 1862 that the first overt steps had been taken by the Province of Canada to acquire the Northwest; it was on the 9th of March, 1869, that the final arrangements were concluded between the two Governments and the Company. Between this date and the actual transfer of the territory, however, there intervened a period of trouble and perplexity, of insurrection and murder.

THE RIEL REBELLION OF 1870

The history of the Riel Rebellion of 1870 is a regrettable page in Canadian annals and seems to indicate a lack of imagination on the part of the Canadian Government in dealing with a sensitive and ignorant population of whom little was known by any one in authority, except it were the Hudson's Bay Company people. The latter do not seem to have shown any active interest in matters once the sale was actually consummated and their £300,000 assured. Imagination is, in statesmanship, an all-essential, though not always recognized, factor, and it was not usually lacking in the policy of Sir John Macdonald. But on this occasion no one appears to have followed the sound principle of putting themselves in

other peoples' places and imagining for a brief period what the feelings of the Métis, or Half-breeds of the Red River, would be upon hearing of the proposed transfer of their territory.

They were uneducated, could not speak English, knew nothing of constitutional government or even what it meant, were isolated in the extreme, did not understand the relations held by the Company, the British Government, and the Canadian authorities toward each other, and were, therefore, the easy victims of deception, the facile instruments of any vain or corrupt agitator who might rise to the surface of affairs at a critical juncture. Judgment long after an event, when based upon new conditions and changed ideas, is always easy and unfair, but in this case it would really seem as if the ten or twelve thousand people, scattered throughout the region now known as Manitoba, should have received some official notification and personal explanation of the policy of union with Canada, its actual causes, and probable effects. They had never asked to be included in the Dominion and were quite content under the open and paternal government of the Company. They now heard rumors of impending change and all the flying gossip of a scattered and suspicious population; while they saw with their own eyes the corps of surveyors and road-makers who so unwisely preceded the authorities and even the actual transfer. It is little wonder, therefore, that though the Selkirk settlers and most of the English-speaking people held aloof in the assurance that nothing very serious could happen to them under the new *régime,* the more primitive and less placid Half-breeds shifted in restless alarm and presently caught fire under the unscrupulous appeals of Louis Riel.

CHARACTER OF LOUIS RIEL

Like many men born to lead in civil strife, or to effect objects of a socialistic or anarchistic nature, Riel had a vein of madness in his mind. It was not, in any true sense of the word, insanity, nor does there appear to have ever been seri-

ous grounds for supposing him incapable of controlling his own actions. It was the madness of intense egotism and vanity, developed by other characteristics into a cool, calculating, unscrupulous ambition. The son of a white father and a Half-breed mother, he had been educated in Montreal for the Roman Catholic priesthood, but returned to Fort Garry without really taking Orders. His early surroundings had given him physical vigor, his education in Montreal had given him fair scholarship, his French and Indian blood had given him a curious mixture of qualities in which oratorical facility and indifference to the shedding of blood were prominent. In many respects, therefore, he was fitted to be a leader of the people at the Red River, and into this position he at once leaped. Moderation at this juncture would have made him a great and useful figure in the hearts and history of his countrymen and have enabled him to prepare them peacefully for a union of which he must have clearly understood the nature. And he might afterward have taken a high political place in the Province, and, perhaps, in the Dominion.

Encouraged, however, by a vague knowledge of Papineau's day of power in French Canada; believing that Fort Garry was too far away and the Canadian people too indifferent to risk serious interference; hoping from the opinions of American residents at Fort Garry that, if there was trouble, the United States would intervene; inspired by a passion for notoriety which some men mistake for honest ambition, he drew away from the paths of moderation and determined to found a new republic in America. In the earlier stages of the movement he had little opposition from the pure white population and considerable sympathy from the American element in it. The English-speaking settlers explained to Lieutenant-Colonel Stoughton Dennis, who came to them as chief of the newly appoined Governor's staff, that they had not asked for this new Dominion Government, had not been consulted in the transfer of their territory, and did not propose to risk either their homes, or their lives, or their old-time friendships in opposing Riel and his Half-breed fol-

lowers. If there was to be a conflict—in which the Indians would probably take part—let the Dominion, they said, establish among them that Government which it had decided upon without their opinion being asked and they would obey the laws and be good subjects. Until the new system was established, however, they would take no risks. To this not altogether unreasonable attitude there were exceptions, increasing as time went on and as the position of Riel became more violent and aggressive. These exceptions were at first largely made up of native Canadians under the leadership of Dr. (afterward Sir) John Christian Schultz, a pioneer in the trade and development of the country.

It had been announced that on December 1, 1869, the new territory would be formally transferred to Canada, and, in the meantime, the Hon. William McDougall, who had taken a prominent part in the earlier negotiations at London and the Parliamentary discussions at Ottawa, was appointed a sort of Provisional Governor of an unorganized territory. He was sent up in the late autumn to arrange the new constitutional system and to take over the administration of the region from the Hudson's Bay Company. There was, of course, no railway connection at that time with the West except by way of United States territory, and the first overt act of rebellion occurred on October 21st, when, under the inspiring eloquence of Riel and the influence of his vigorous misrepresentations, an armed Half-breed force took possession of the highway leading from the International border to Fort Garry, and over which the new Governor would have to pass. He was told he could not come beyond the frontier, and, finally, when he attempted to make the journey, was forced by the rebels to leave British territory and to retire to Pembina, in the State of Dakota.

Riel now took further active measures. On November 3d he led a force into Fort Garry, dispossessed the Hudson's Bay Company and laughed at their protests; issued a manifesto stating that a popular Convention would be called to settle the government of the country; published a rebel paper named the

"New Nation," and got practically all the military stores available; formed, early in January, 1870, a Provisional Government of which he was President, a clever Irishman named O'Donoghue, Secretary-Treasurer, and Ambrose Lepine, the best military head among the rebels of the moment, Adjutant-General. Meanwhile, Mr. McDougall made the serious mistake of believing that the intended legal transfer of the territory had actually taken place on December 1st and of issuing what purported to be a Royal Proclamation dealing with the existing situation. When it was found that the transfer had not really occurred this document only served to intensify the complication and to make McDougall's position untenable as well as intolerable. There was nothing for him to do but return home. Then, Dr. Schultz formed a body of half-armed Canadians to defy the rebel Government, and after a brave resistance was overpowered and imprisoned at Fort Garry with all his followers. The details of his privations there, the imminent risk of death as a warning to others in the Settlement which he is known to have been in, his escape through the help of a sick wife and by the aid of a smuggled file, his climb over high walls with an injured leg, and his journey through great drifts of snow and in a bewildering storm to a place of partial safety, read like part of some romance of another age. Still more interesting was his subsequent journey on foot and snowshoe over seven thousand miles of solitude, snow, and frozen rivers to Duluth, in the United States, where the tall, gaunt, and emaciated figure of the weary and starving Canadian commanded general sympathy. After a brief rest he journeyed by train to Ontario, and there speedily aroused the public to a sense of the real state of affairs and the necessity of strong and active interference if the great country of the West was to be held by the Dominion.

But a good many things happened before, or during, this period. Donald A. Smith arrived at Fort Garry as a special Commissioner of the Dominion Government, and the future Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal exercised in his negotia-

tions a high degree of tact and conciliation. Eventually, he persuaded Riel to call his promised Convention to consider the future condition of the country. It met on January 25, 1870, and passed a Bill of Rights formulating the demands of the Half-breeds, which Mr. Smith undertook to submit to the Ottawa Government. At the same time he asked for the appointment of Delegates to accompany him to the Dominion capital. This was duly done and all might have possibly gone well had not the Scott murder taken place soon after. At Kildonan, not far from Fort Garry, a meeting of Loyalists was being held and a son of John Sutherland—afterward a Senator of Canada—was shot dead by one of Riel's spies as the latter was trying to escape from the gathering. On their way home from the meeting some of the other Loyalists were captured, and, among them, a young Canadian named Thomas Scott. He was a man of excellent character and an Orangeman, and this latter fact, no doubt, had something to do in further inflaming the ignorant minds of the Half-breeds. Despite the protests of Mr. Smith and the intercession of some of the French priests, he was shot by order of Riel on March 4th, after a court-martial, which was the veriest travesty of justice.

WARLIKE PREPARATIONS

Of course, nothing could now be done by conciliation, although Bishop Taché returned from Rome soon afterward and exercised his wide influence in preventing any more ebullitions of similar violence. The murder of Scott aroused Ontario, where Schultz had just arrived, and all the Governments concerned—British, Canadian, and Provincial—saw that effective and immediate steps must be taken to suppress the rising. An expeditionary force was at once arranged under command of Colonel (afterward Field Marshal, Viscount) Wolseley, who was then at the head of some regular troops in Ontario. It was composed of the 1st Battalion of the 60th Rifles, 350 strong, with twenty men of the Royal Artillery and four seven-pounder guns, twenty men of the

Royal Engineers, and suitable Hospital and Service corps—making in all 400 regular troops. Two Battalions of Militia from Ontario and Quebec under Lieutenant-Colonels S. P. Jarvis and L. A. Casault, making 700 more men, were readily obtained as volunteers. In May, 1870, this force left Toronto to pass over more than a thousand miles of wilderness and broken water-stretches and to endure much of hardship and severe labor. At Sault Ste. Marie, owing to American regulations and the refusal to allow British armed troops upon the soil of the United States, the expedition had to leave its boats and carry all supplies and effects three miles around the rapids on the Canadian side—where, at the end of the century, is to be found a canal which eclipses that of the Americans.

On August 24th, amid rain and gloom, the expedition made its way up the Red River and found itself nearing the scene of rebellion. Filled with thoughts of conflict and hope of brilliant success, the men were greatly disappointed, as soldiers, to find that Riel had fled like his earlier predecessors, Papineau and Mackenzie, and had left them merely the skin of a squeezed orange. From every other standpoint, however, than that of the ambitious soldier, or hopeful volunteer, the result was for the best, and, with Colonel Wolseley's march into Fort Garry, the insurrection closed without leaving any seriously bitter memories behind save those surrounding the sad death of young Scott. Mr. Donald A. Smith was called upon by the Military Commander to assume control of civil matters until the new Lieutenant-Governor could arrive and the constitution be formally inaugurated along the line of Mr. Howe's instructions to Governor McDougall many months before.*

This policy—which might have averted the insurrection had it been properly placed before all the people of the Settlement at an earlier period—included the declaration that civil and religious liberties and the privileges of the whole

* Letter from the Secretary of State at Ottawa, dated 7th December, 1869, but not made public until January 20, 1870.

population would be sacredly preserved; that properties, rights, and equities, as enjoyed under the Company's rule, would be maintained; that a liberal system in the granting of titles to land now occupied by settlers would be pursued; that all classes of the residents would be fully and fairly represented in the Government; that municipal self-government would be at once established and the country ruled by a constitution based upon British laws and precedents and practices. On July 15, 1870, the Province was duly constituted by Royal and Parliamentary enactment with Mr. (afterward Sir) Adams G. Archibald as its first Lieutenant-Governor.* An Executive Council of not less than five persons was to be appointed, with a Legislative Council of seven members, which was to be increased to twelve after four years, and a Legislative Assembly of twenty-four members, elected to represent certain electoral districts as constituted by the Lieutenant-Governor. The duration of the Legislature and its functions were to be controlled by the same provisions as applied in the British North America Act to the other Provinces. Either the French or English language could be used in debates and official records. It may be added that the Legislative Council was abolished in 1876, and that the number of members in the Assembly was afterward raised to forty.

The first organized Ministry in the infant Province was constituted on September 16, 1870, with the Hon. M. A. Girard as Premier. Of the characters in the strife which preceded this constitutional commencement Louis Riel vanished from sight for a few years of restless life in the States to the south; Colonel Wolseley, after coquetting for a brief moment with the Lieutenant-Governorship, left Canada to participate in many campaigns and become Commander-in-Chief of the British Army; Dr. Schultz went into politics and Parliament and lived to be Lieutenant-Governor of the Province in which he had played so important a pioneer part; Lieutenant-Colonels Jarvis and Casault were decorated with the C. M. G.,

* Mr. McDougall was simply a Governor of unorganized territories and his tenure of a provisional nature.

and the former rose to a good position in the British Army; while William McDougall lived an unsatisfactory and upon the whole unsuccessful political career which ended with defeat in his candidature for Parliament in 1882 and 1887. Meantime, many of the troops settled in the Province, other settlers came as a result of liberal land laws and Manitoba began to slowly and steadily progress.

OTHER PROVINCES ENTER CONFEDERATION

On July 20, 1871, British Columbia entered Confederation, and thus followed the example of Manitoba—with the difference of coming in peace rather than in conflict. Its history, up to this time, had been largely one of mining excitements and of Hudson's Bay Company trade and government. In 1858, it had been made a distinct colony for purposes of administration during the gold discoveries of the period. In 1866, Vancouver Island and the Mainland had been united, with a Lieutenant-Governor and a Legislative Council—the latter passing a Resolution favorable to Confederation in 1867, which was disapproved of by its Governor. On January 29th of the following year a large meeting was held in Victoria, and a movement started by Amor de Cosmos, J. F. McCreight, John Robson, Robert Beaven, Hugh Nelson, H. P. P. Crease, and other afterward prominent citizens, to bring about union with the Dominion. The chief opponent of the policy was Dr. Helmcken, who seems to have had a strong annexation sentiment, and to have been supported by American settlers who deemed the chief interest of the Colony to be with the States to the south. In March, 1870, a great debate took place in the Council, and a favorable Resolution based upon arrangements proposed by the new Governor, Mr. Anthony Musgrave, was carried. Messrs. Helmcken, Carrall, and J. W. Trutch were then sent to Ottawa and the terms finally settled—the principal item of discussion being a pledge by the Dominion Government to construct a transcontinental railway. As the people of British Columbia well knew, it was only by such means that the Prov-

ince could be brought into the Dominion in any other than the barest technical and territorial sense.

The measure was hotly debated in the House of Commons at Ottawa because of the great responsibilities assumed in the proposed railway construction. But it was eventually carried, and there came into the now giant-like proportions of the Dominion a Province whose mountains were veined and tunneled with gold and other precious metals; whose vast coal preserves were destined to supply the whole Pacific Slope; whose mighty peaks were clothed in forests from the top of their rugged sides to the rushing rivers at the bottom; whose streams and coast waters teemed with fish or sands of gold; whose fertile acres in certain sections grew some of the finest fruits known to the world; whose climate is a boast to its people and a pleasure to its visitors.

Since 1864, when the Government of little Prince Edward Island had precipitated the varied problems of all the Provinces into a common melting-pot through its proposal to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to discuss a maritime union, trouble and perplexity had been its lot. Its Delegates had participated in the Conference at Quebec, but were unable to carry the Seventy-two Resolutions through a Legislature which, by twenty-three votes to five, declared that joining the union would prove "politically, commercially, and financially disastrous to the rights and interests of its people." Their position was, indeed, a somewhat peculiar one. Without public lands, mines, or forests they had nothing to supplement the small allowance proposed by the Dominion Government; while the insular situation of the Province would, they believed, deprive it of all practical share in Federal expenditures upon railways, canals, and other great public works to which they would have to contribute a due proportion of taxation. They would also be overshadowed, and their place in Confederation, it was claimed, be insignificant and unenviable.

By 1873, however, the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty had deprived the Province of what had been its best market,

up to that time, and had almost ruined its large fishing interests. Exhausted forests had killed a prosperous shipbuilding trade, and railway complications had arisen which involved the Province to an extent beyond its means; while the failure to effect any change in the land-rent system of the Island seemed to indicate that this vital question would never be settled until it had obtained Dominion backing and support. Early in 1873, therefore, overtures were made to Ottawa, and Messrs. R. P. Haythorne and David Laird sent as Delegates to try and make arrangements. After repeated discussions, terms of union were signed by Sir John Macdonald, the Hon. H. L. Langevin, the Hon. Joseph Howe, and the Hon. Charles Tupper for the Dominion, and by Messrs. Haythorne and Laird for the Province. After a general election, in which the arrangement was declared unsatisfactory, a change of local Government took place, and Messrs. J. C. Pope, T. H. Haviland, and G. W. Howlan were sent to Ottawa to obtain better terms. These they finally got, and, on July 1, 1873, the Province entered Confederation. The much troubled land question was settled by an Act of the Dominion Parliament, which compelled the proprietors of large estates to accept an equitable price on the award of Arbitrators chosen by the Government, the landlords, and the tenants respectively — the purchase money being paid by funds allowed to the Province under the terms of Confederation—and the lands resold to the people at cost and upon easy terms of payment.

While this process of expansion was going on, the vast, unorganized, and almost unknown regions between Manitoba and the Rocky Mountains, and between the borders of the United States and the Arctic Ocean, were gradually coming into constitutional form and shape as well as into popular knowledge. On April 12, 1876, Keewatin, with its area of 756,000 square miles, was organized into a District under the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. On May 17, 1882, Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Athabasca, with a combined area of over 500,000 square miles,

were constituted under a Lieutenant-Governor, with his capital at Regina, and with institutions which slowly developed until, in 1898, they might be described as fully self-governing. A Lieutenant-Governor and Crown-appointed Council; an Advisory Council, and four members chosen from an elected Assembly of twenty-two members; an Executive Council and Legislative Assembly with full Provincial powers, except as to borrowing money and controlling Crown-lands; complete responsible government in 1898, were the various stages in this progress. Mr. F. W. G. Haultain was the leading figure in this system of political growth, and is now (1900) Premier of a steadily growing population in what is termed the North-West Territories.

Meanwhile, on October 2, 1895, much of the still unorganized far northern territory of over a million square miles had been formed into the Districts of Mackenzie, Ungava, and Franklin, and placed under the control of the Regina Government. In 1897, there was further change, and the District of Yukon was created and placed under the same jurisdiction. As the blinding glare of the gold discoveries loomed above the horizon, it was, however, deemed desirable to take this region under Dominion management, and on June 13, 1898, this was done.

So far, this steady expansion of the new Dominion had been great and successful. The amount of tactful skill and political diplomacy required for such varied and continuous negotiation and arrangement can be only estimated from this sketch of actual events. But it is not difficult to read between the lines, and to see how much of care and anxiety and labor must have gone into the completing of Confederation. The North-West troubles, the Indians, the railway question of the West, the land problem of the island garden of the Gulf of St. Lawrence were only a few of the more prominent issues. Sir John Macdonald, however, had able assistants in Tupper and Tilley, Rose and Hincks and Cartier, and, although mistakes were made, it is well to fully appreciate the constructive labor and skill required to carry out the

all-important political and constitutional expansion of this period.

SECESSION MOVEMENT IN NOVA SCOTIA

One great difficulty connected with an original Province of the Union had to be faced and disposed of in 1868-69. It was the secession movement in Nova Scotia which was created, guided, and controlled by Joseph Howe. Indirectly connected with it was an event which occurred on April 7, 1868—the assassination of D'Arcy McGee. The eloquent Irishman who had done so much to bring his fellow-countrymen into support and sympathy for the federal principle and its subsequent application, and whose whole later career—with a single exception—had been one of conciliation in politics as well as of innate courtesy in manner, had left the House after delivering a bright and patriotic speech upon the desirability of patience and kindly treatment in connection with Nova Scotian matters. He was just entering his own door when a member of the Fenian Brotherhood stepped up behind and shot him dead. The exception referred to had been the Fenians, whom he greatly detested, of whose secrets he knew much, and who had thus dogged him to his death. Rewards amounting to $20,000 were offered for the capture of the murderer, and, finally, a man named Whelan was arrested, convicted, and hanged.

Meanwhile, repeal of the Union became the watchword of Nova Scotia, the clarion call of Howe and his associates. In the elections following Confederation, Dr. Tupper had been the only non-Repealer elected to the Commons, while only two of the same stripe had been returned to the Provincial Assembly. Howe was supreme and the feeling of the people was extremely bitter. They believed they had been carried into the Union by a trick; they knew that no chance to vote upon it had been given them. Resolutions were passed by the Legislature demanding the right to secede and Howe was sent with a Delegation and immense petitions to lay the matter at the foot of the Throne and to use every influence

of persuasion or threat to induce the Imperial Parliament to grant the right of repeal. To London, also, went Dr. Tupper by request of Sir John Macdonald, and the long-drawn battle of the two Provincial leaders was thus transferred from the small arena of Nova Scotia to the Halls of Westminster.

Naturally and inevitably, Howe was vanquished, though he had the ready support of such Little Englanders as John Bright, and he returned home with nothing before him but a hopeless rebellion which could have been easily stirred up, or the acceptance of a compromise already suggested by Dr. Tupper and under which the Province might be given better terms. The fate of Nova Scotia was more truly in the hollow of his hand than had ever been that of Lower Canada in the grasp of Papineau. Fortunately, moderation and good sense won the day, assisted by a visit to Halifax of Sir John Macdonald, Dr. Tupper, and other leaders. The result was helped, also, by the sufferings of the fisher-folk from a very severe season and by the money and provisions which poured into the affected districts from generous-minded people in the other Provinces. In the end matters were settled quietly and the Dominion Government agreed to make itself responsible for a larger portion of the Provincial debt, to pay a yearly subsidy of $82,698 for ten years and to render compensation for certain losses in revenue resulting from Confederation.

Howe did his part in arranging these negotiations, in patriotically conciliating the people to the new and inevitable conditions, and in carrying the Province for the settlement. He even took a seat in the Dominion Government and four years later accepted the Lieutenant-Governorship of his native Province during the month in which his flame of life was flickering toward extinction. But the brightness of life had left him with the loss of public sympathy and personal affection which followed upon his acceptance of Confederation. The strength of reason and necessity might lead the people of Nova Scotia to accept and politically support him in the change, but the instinct of affection, the influence of

heart to heart, which had made him their idol seemed to be gone forever. He had fallen from his pedestal in the minds of the people and no amount of honest belief in duty, or the sincere consciousness that he was right, appears to have availed in preserving to Howe the old vigor of his life and action. On June 1, 1873, this extraordinary man passed away, leaving a record of greatness in a small sphere which makes the student of history regret that the wider realms of achievement had not been open for him to share in and to wonder what high place he might have attained in the Dominion, or the Empire, had not that fatal mistake of opposing Confederation been originally made.

CHAPTER XIX

THE TREATY OF WASHINGTON

FOLLOWING the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866, there had been for some years no definite arrangement with the United States respecting either fisheries or trade, and this had given a natural impetus to chances of international complication and trouble. The feeling between the two countries was distinctly unfriendly, as was to be expected from the deliberate action of the United States in refusing to continue or even discuss reciprocity; from its slack policy concerning the Fenian raids and the frequent expression of a desire by the Republic to acquire possession of the Provinces; from the general belief in the United States that British America had sympathized with the South in the Civil War and should be made responsible, in some way, for this as well as for the alleged unfriendly policy of England at the same juncture.

ATTEMPTS TO RENEW THE RECIPROCITY TREATY

Attempts were made on the part of the British Provinces in 1866 and 1869—two years after Confederation—to renew

the Reciprocity Treaty, and when, finally, the *Alabama* Claims dispute precipitated matters at issue between Great Britain and the Republic it was hoped and believed in Canada that the High Joint Commission which was appointed early in 1871 to try and arrange a treaty of peace and settlement, would include in the desired result a consideration of trade questions and Fenian raid indemnities as well as of the fishery difficulties on the Atlantic which had recently developed. The Commissioners included Sir Stafford Northcote, Earl de Grey and Ripon, Sir John Macdonald and Mr. Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State for the Republic.

These were the men who chiefly molded the policy and controlled the details of the negotiations. Sir S. Northcote, who died twenty years later as Earl of Iddesleigh and a most respected Conservative leader, was, even at this time, a well-known figure in politics. But he owed his appointment on this Commission primarily to a diplomatic desire on the part of the Gladstone Government to hold in check possible future criticism by the Opposition. Earl de Grey, who afterward became Viceroy of India and Marquess of Ripon, was a man of high character and attainments, but without any strong Imperial sentiment. He was tinctured, in fact, with the Manchester School feeling of that time, that Colonies, whatever their value, were not worth the final arbitrament of a great war.

A DIFFICULT POSITION

It must have been, and we know now it was, with a heavy and doubtful heart that Sir John Macdonald accepted on behalf of Canada a place among British Commissioners controlled by such conditions, and by the very slightly disguised hope on the part of their own Government that they would bring back a Treaty of some kind and even at great sacrifice. The full details of these memorable negotiations were not known at the time, and had to be concealed even when the Canadian Premier and High Commissioner stood before the bar of his own Parliament in defence of the Treaty, and

of himself, and made one of the great speeches of his political life. What he had to contend with in the Conference from unexpected indifference on the part of the other British Commissioners, or from expected hostility on the part of its American members, we now understand from his private correspondence with the members of the Canadian Government, as published in Mr. Pope's "Memoirs" in 1894. At the formal meetings of the Commission and in the more frequent informal gatherings of its members he stood for Canadian rights and for justice to Canadian interests.

Reciprocity in trade or tariffs it was soon found impossible to attain, and this was, of course, a matter in which Great Britain was not directly concerned and which the United States had a perfect right to discuss or not as pleased it. But the Fenian raids indemnity was a different thing. Canada had suffered much in the alarm of its citizens, in the death of its brave sons defending their soil against wanton aggression, in the temporary paralysis of business, in the expenditure of millions of money. There was absolutely no doubt as to the indifference displayed by American authorities regarding the invasion and as to all the preliminary drilling and arrangements extending over many months of loud-tongued preparation. There was no doubt, also, of its responsibility in a national sense for the injury thus done to a friendly neighbor—an injury as great in comparison with population and wealth as that of the *Alabama* to United States interests.

In the earlier negotiations for a treaty the Fenian raids had been referred to by the Canadian Government and the hope expressed that its claims against the United States for "negligence and want of due diligence" in connection with the invasion would be considered and adjusted at the proposed Conference. The Imperial Government agreed to this, but, owing to the indefinite phraseology of the correspondence which followed with the Republic, the High Commissioners for the United States refused to have anything to do with the subject when the Commission finally met at Washington.

They declared that the matter did not come within the scope of the original communication of the British Minister, and added, in words quite comprehensible to those who understood the influence of the Irish vote in American politics, that "the claims did not commend themselves to their favor." The end of it all was that the British Government assented to their exclusion from the consideration of the High Commission and eventually consented to guarantee a loan of $2,500,000 for the construction of the Inter-Colonial Railway and as an indemnity to Canada for its losses in the raids.

The chief Canadian question before the Commission was that of the Atlantic Fisheries, and it was this, also, which caused the most trouble to England and alarm to the British Commissioners. Upon the *Alabama* Claims they had practically resolved to surrender before meeting in conference at all, and the problem was merely how to lower the bill of damages and keep it within reason. But when it came to the Canadian question both the British Government and the Commissioners found that they had to deal with the Dominion, and, especially, with its keen and vigorous representative upon the Commission. There was need of a strong defensive hand in the matter. The Americans knew what they wanted, and very soon came to know, also, the weakness of their foreign colleagues and to play with diplomatic adroitness upon the British desire for peace and entire misapprehension of the character of United States politics.

DISCUSSION OF THE FISHERIES QUESTION

The issue turned upon the interpretation of existing Treaties and seems to have been a very clear one in reality. In 1783 the Treaty of Versailles, or Paris, recognized certain privileges regarding the fishing of American citizens in Canadian or British waters. When the value of the Atlantic fisheries became better known disputes arose and the Treaty of Ghent after the War of 1812 did not attempt to dispose of these controversies as to the interpretation of the preceding Treaty. Great Britain afterward took the ground that the

war had abrogated all American rights whatever excepting those of international courtesy, and, during the years 1815, 1816, and 1817, a number of American vessels were seized for attempting to assert the claim to privileges granted by the original Treaty.

Various negotiations were held, and, finally, the Convention of 1818 was signed at London on October 20th, by which Great Britain granted the liberty to fish in certain defined waters and to dry and cure fish at certain specified places, in return for a renunciation "forever," by the United States, of the right to fish within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks, or harbors not included in the specified waters. No language could be more clear than the terms of this Treaty, yet, during succeeding years, frequent attempts were made—some by violence—to infringe its conditions and to make free use of the fisheries. Various vessels were seized and much irritation caused. Then came the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 by which the inshore fisheries were thrown open to Americans in return for the free exchange of the natural products of the Provinces and the Republic. The abrogation of the Treaty in 1866 threw the British Government back upon the arrangement of 1818, made the equipment of a marine protective force necessary and renewed the precedent condition of irritation—despite an attempt to compromise the matter, by an issue of licenses under the jurisdiction of the new Dominion, which failed owing to the refusal of the American fishermen to accept either leave or license and their evident determination to fish by force.

The only thing Canada could now do was to assert its rights under the Convention of 1818, and, accordingly, the license system was done away with, after consultation with the Imperial Government, and a small fleet of cruisers was prepared and chartered in 1870 for the defence of the fisheries. Collisions followed, more American vessels were seized, angry diplomatic notes went from Washington to London, the American press stormed at Canada, and, at the time of the meeting of the High Commission, events seemed to be pressing toward

a warlike solution. All through the ensuing deliberations there were, on the part of the British Commissioners, evidences of fear that if the issue was not settled by a treaty some such result would follow. Sir John Macdonald's private letters* to Sir Charles Tupper and Sir John Rose and Sir George Cartier teem with references to the situation thus created and to the lack of backbone in his British colleagues. Upon one occasion, Lord de Grey informed him that "he believed it was the general impression in England, and, especially, of the Government, that the danger was great and pressing." Again, some days later, he writes that Lord de Grey had told him several times that "if this attempt should fail no peaceable solution is possible."

There was a certain amount of excuse for the attitude of the British Commissioners. They represented the Gladstone Government, which was at this very time allowing Russia to tear up the Black Sea Treaty and to destroy the chief fruits of the Crimean struggle—a Government also which was notoriously fearful of all war and was the embodiment of the peace at any price and Manchester School theories. They represented a feeling which was then dominant in England and which did not understand the value of the Colonies to Great Britain and disliked all responsibilites of an Imperial character. They did not comprehend American methods and character, and, when President Grant in December, 1870, wrote a Message to Congress which practically threatened war if the questions at issue were not settled, they regarded it with the same seriousness as they would a similar document presented to Parliament by the Queen with the approval of her Ministers. The irresponsibility of the President in such matters and the inter-play of American politics and diplomacy were not as clearly comprehended as they are to-day.

Other questions at issue besides the Atlantic fisheries were the boundaries of Alaska and the ownership of the Island of San Juan under the terms of the Oregon Treaty. They may

* "Memoirs" of Sir John A. Macdonald, by Joseph Pope, Ottawa, 1894.

be disposed of at once by saying that the former was dealt with in the new Treaty in such an indefinite manner as not to dispose of it and that the latter was given into the hands of the German Emperor, William I, as Arbitrator, who disposed of it very effectually in December, 1872, by giving the Island to the United States. By the Oregon Treaty of 1846 the United States had received the splendid region of the Puget Sound and the present States of Oregon and Washington. The boundary line was to run along the 49th parallel "to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver Island and thence southerly through the middle of said channel, and of the Fuca Straits, to the Pacific Ocean." The dispute of the ensuing period, which resulted in a joint military occupation of San Juan Island and more than once brought the Empire and the Republic to the verge of war, turned upon the fact that there was not one, but three, channels, and that upon the question of which channel should be selected as the dividing line depended the ownership of this island which guarded the front of American territory on these waters and faced the British Provincial capital—Victoria. Great Britain claimed the most southerly of these channels, but was willing to accept the middle one as a just and reasonable compromise. For some inscrutable reason, best known to himself, the Imperial Arbitrator accepted the American claim.

But this is getting far ahead of the Commissioners as they debated and battled over the terms of the proposed Treaty, during the spring of 1871, in the private and political halls of Washington. The American Government and Commissioners wanted much. They desired San Juan to be given up to them, the Fenian raids to be eliminated from consideration, the Alaskan boundary to be adjusted to their satisfaction, the Atlantic fisheries to be thrown open to them for all time and for some very slight consideration, the St. Lawrence and its canals to be made free forever. These things were, of course, apart from their enormous claims for compensation from Great Britain regarding the *Alabama*. In return they

were willing to give peace and perhaps free fish and the navigation of Lake Michigan. What Canada eventually obtained in the Treaty, as well as the limitation of her inevitable sacrifices, may be seen in its terms, and they sufficiently vindicate the stand taken by Sir John Macdonald, while showing how great the difference really was between American expectations and American realizations.

THE TERMS OF THE TREATY

The Treaty of Washington was signed on May 8, 1871. By its terms the *Alabama* Claims were submitted to an Arbitration tribunal, which met at Geneva in the following year, and of which Sir Alexander Cockburn, the sturdy, aggressive Lord Chief Justice of England, was a prominent member. By its decision, against which Chief Justice Cockburn vigorously protested, the sum of $15,500,000 was awarded to the United States as damages, and was promptly paid by Great Britain. It was thought by many at the time that the amount was too large, and this appears to have been an accurate belief from the fact that claimants could never be found for a portion of it, and have not been found yet. The fisheries question was settled for the time by a twelve-year arrangement, under which fish and fish-oil were to be admitted free as between the Dominion and the States, while each was to share freely in the fisheries of the other. As the Atlantic fisheries of the United States were comparatively valueless and entirely useless to the Canadian fishermen, while those of Canada were rich in the most teeming sense of the word, it was decided—after long discussions in which the American Commissioners very properly did their utmost to minimize the value of what they were striving to obtain—that a lump sum should be paid the Dominion, and that the amount of this payment should be settled by another special Commission. It may be added here, that this Commission met at Halifax on June 15, 1877, after prolonged delay on the part of the United States. The British and Canadian Commissioner was Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt, and Newfoundland

and Canada were finally awarded $5,500,000 as the value of the fishing privileges granted the United States in 1871 over and above the reciprocal clauses of the Treaty.* Payment was ultimately made after vigorous protests from Congress and the United States Government.

By the Washington Treaty Americans were admitted to the navigation of the St. Lawrence River and to the use of the canal system of Canada upon equal terms with British subjects, and under the same conditions as the latter in any tolls, or charges, which might be levied by the Dominion Government. They were, also, allowed the privilege of taking timber from the Maine woods down the River St. John to the sea—a most important matter in those days. Provision was made for the free passage of goods in bond through either country. This was an arrangement by which goods from one part of the Republic could pass over Canadian soil to another part of the United States without paying duty to the Canadian authorities, and by which Canadian products might have a similar privilege in crossing United States land or water territory. It was a most serviceable and beneficial arrangement to both countries in general, and to their transportation interests in particular. The navigation of Lake Michigan was also made free for twelve years, but, as the St. Lawrence was thrown open forever, it has never since been seriously suggested that this clause could be anything but a practically permanent one. A most important item in the Treaty, and one which reflects credit upon Sir John Macdonald, was the recognition of Canada's right, under the Anglo-Russian arrangement of 1825, to share in the free navigation of the Yukon, Porcupine, and Stikine Rivers in Alaska. Had the future been fully foreseen, it is to be feared that the fight over this clause would have been much keener than it was. The St. Clair Canal and Flats, between Lakes Huron and Erie, were also thrown open to both nations.

Such was the Washington Treaty in brief. Born of the

* The Dominion received $4,490,882 of this amount—not the whole of it, as is usually stated. Newfoundland obtained the balance.

travail of possible war and continuous and bitter controversy; discussed with a million soldiers in the United States ready for any service or adventure, and amid the clamors of a discontented and angry Fenian element in the same country; arranged by British Commissioners who were responsible to a weak-kneed Government and an electorate still controlled by the anti-Colonial school of thought, it was, upon the whole, better for Canada than might have been expected. Nothing of serious import was given away, and no national or territorial right was sacrificed. It is true that San Juan was lost, but, as neither England nor Canada can apparently expect to win in a foreign Arbitration, the matter might well have been discounted. In any case, it was not worth the other arbitrament of war. Nearly $5,000,000 in money was obtained for the use of the fisheries, and, although the clauses dealing with this part of the subject were abrogated by the United States in 1885, that action was not without its compensation in the practical recovery of Canadian fishing grounds for Canadian fishermen.

To Sir John Macdonald the negotiations were a nightmare of diplomacy. He expected to fight vigorously against the American Commissioners, and to find in them the keenest and wariest of antagonists. They were on their own ground, with a President and Senate which would back up a strong and aggressive policy, and they were contending for enhanced influence and power for their own people upon the American continent. But to have to struggle against his own British colleagues, as well as the American Commissioners, was to Sir John a continuous irritation and a very heavy burden to his heart. "In our separate caucuses," he wrote, on one occasion, to Dr. Tupper, "my colleagues were continually pressing me to yield." They even supported the American desire for a permanent cession of the fisheries. He described the discussions with them as being "warm," or "unpleasant," and wrote once of being obliged to tell Lord de Grey that "I believed I knew what my duty was and would endeavor to perform it." He had to tell them plainly on another occa-

sion* that "it was intolerable that these New England fishermen should say they were resolved to fish in our waters, right or wrong, and if not allowed would force on a war between the two nations; and we ought not to sacrifice our property by reason of such threats."

Several times his protests were sent to England, and ultimately made good; several times he was on the point of resigning. One of these occasions was when the cable came from London authorizing a reference of the value of the fisheries to arbitration. Fortunately, he did not do so, and wrote afterward to Dr. Tupper that had he left the Commission then the lease of the fisheries would have been for twenty-five years and fish-oil would have been excluded from free interchange. Finally, he felt the whole matter so bitterly that he hoped to avoid signing the Treaty, and thus to throw the responsibility where it belonged. But the protests were so strong and the reasons so apparent that he did not eventually do so. Without his signature the Treaty would probably not have passed the American Senate, and could certainly not have been carried at Ottawa. Once it was signed by him he assumed the fullest responsibility; uttered not one complaint in all the twenty years of his further public life; and suffered a most unjust share of obloquy in Canada for its acceptance.

HOW THE TREATY WAS RECEIVED IN CANADA

When Sir John arrived home from Washington he received a perfect storm of censure from the Opposition press. He was declared a traitor to Canadian interests, and a Judas Iscariot and Benedict Arnold combined in one. Parliament was not to meet until the succeeding February, and for nearly a year the Premier endured this unstinted abuse in perfect silence. Of course, neither the people at large, nor the Opposition, nor his own followers, knew, or ever did know, the truth about the Commission. That has awaited his death and the consideration of another generation. Had it been

* Letter to Sir George Cartier, April 17, 1871. Pope's "Memoirs."

any other man he could not have overcome the situation. But Sir John's personality, popularity, and the sense of the inevitable carried the Treaty through Parliament in the spring of 1872. The speech delivered by the Premier was memorable for an eloquence which was not an ordinary characteristic of the man, and for a degree of earnestness and force which carried the second reading by 121 to 55. His chief argument consisted of the fact that while Canada was making some sacrifices in accepting the arrangement, yet she was making them for the sake of the Empire and its future friendly relations with the United States.

In the elections which followed shortly afterward the Treaty had a considerable place and was the chief ground of attack upon the Government. "I had," wrote Sir John to Lord Monck, the Governor-General, "to fight a stern and uphill battle in Ontario. I never worked so hard before and never shall do so again, but I felt it to be necessary this time. I did not want a verdict against the Treaty from the country." The elections were won, but he always believed that a rankling dissatisfaction in the popular mind contributed greatly to his defeat in those of 1874. The Treaty, however, was now a fact of history, the *Alabama* troubles had been settled, the fisheries were removed for some years from their place as a serious international irritant, the fear of conflict on the British Columbia borders was eliminated and the past relations of the Empire and the Republic during the Civil War were left to the cooling influence of time, and the soothing process of partial forgetfulness.

CHAPTER XX

POLITICAL QUESTIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

THE growth and progress of a country does not always appear on the broad surface of affairs or in the discussion and settlement of what are called great public questions. These latter mark outwardly the inward development and are useful also as educative influences upon the people,

or in some cases as evidences of popular influence upon the politicians. Especially true is this conclusion in connection with the first working years of a new Constitution.

A WIDER AND WIDENING COMMONWEALTH

When Canada put on the Federal garb in 1867 fresh conditions were faced, new problems were presented, important controversies were imminent. It was hoped, however, that the teapot troubles of restricted states, the occasionally fantastic fancies of isolated colonies, would be merged in the larger affairs of a wider and widening commonwealth. In great part this hope was realized. The jealousies of Quebec and Ontario* were modified to a degree which removed the element of danger and enabled them to work together with comfort and effectiveness. The isolation and inevitable narrowness of view in the Maritime Provinces were gradually ameliorated under wider political conditions and important national issues. The crudeness, the violence, the bigotry of politics in the Canadas were modified by the redistribution of parties and the change in party lines brought about by Sir John A. Macdonald's policy of conciliation and tact.

Before Confederation he had labored for the harmonizing of extreme Tories with moderate Conservatives, of French-Canadian moderates, or followers of Lafontaine, with Upper Canadian Liberals of moderate views who had once followed Baldwin, into a great party to which he eventually gave the somewhat clumsy title of Liberal-Conservative. In some measure he had succeeded and would have done so in a far wider and more effective manner had not the rivalry of French and English opinion, of Lower and Upper Canada, been for the time hopelessly violent. Confederation, how-

* From the time of the Act of 1791 to the Union of 1841 these two Provinces were termed Lower and Upper Canada respectively; from the Union until Confederation they were officially, if not popularly, called Canada East and Canada West; by the Act of Confederation in 1867 they were given their present and permanent names—the word "Canada" being used to cover the new Dominion then created and within five years to include all British North America except Newfoundland.

ever, came and with it the opportunity to develop his large views in practical form and to give his party an important place upon a really national canvas.

THE FIRST CABINET OF THE DOMINION

The first Cabinet of the Dominion was, in accordance with this policy of assimilation, composed in equal parts of men who had been at one time either Liberals or Conservatives. In support of his Government he was able, by virtue of conciliation and calculation, to combine the large majority of French Canadians and to give an impetus to Conservative sentiment in that Province which lasted for fully twenty years.

The Ministry was termed a coalition, but George Brown, as leader of the Upper Canada Liberals, would have nothing to do with the new "Sir John" any more than he would with the old "John A."* His aggressive, uncompromising will would brook no superior in council, or even an equal, and though compelled for a brief space to co-operate with Macdonald in the Cabinet which helped to arrange the terms of Confederation, he left it as soon as possible and resumed the old terms of personal non-intercourse with the only man whom he deemed a rival. In his refusal to accept the Federal Cabinet of 1867 as a representative coalition Brown was joined by Mr. A. A. Dorion and a few of the old-time Liberal leaders of Quebec and the nucleus of a present Opposition in Parliament and of a future Dominion Liberal party was thus formed.

Of course, Sir John Macdonald never intended his Ministry to be a real coalition or to remain for long as even a nominal one. His intention was to form all parties and public men, who might be available, into a strong, united

* During the years stretching from his entry into public life in the early "Forties" until Confederation, when the Queen made him a K.C.B., Mr. Macdonald was known far and wide as "John A.," and with every year the affectionate popular appellation grew in use. After his Knighthood there was only one "Sir John" from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The surname was superfluous.

organization capable of carrying on the Government with a firm hand, of maintaining defined and vigorous principles, of preventing any more such experiences of weakness and inefficiency as had preceded Confederation, of harmonizing hostile elements which would otherwise drift further apart and endanger the successful working of the new constitution, of affording scope for the exercise of his own powers of leadership and government. Within a comparatively short time his policy was successful, and, despite Liberal Conventions and George Brown's desperate efforts in the Toronto "Globe," the Conservative party became a compact organization with the Prime Minister as practically its head and front and platform.

The first Cabinet of the new Dominion was made up very largely of men who had worked energetically for Confederation and who, therefore, deserved consideration at the hands of the incoming Premier. It was not easy to arrange it, and the mere fact, as stated in Canadian historical works, that a Government was formed on July 1, 1867, by Sir John Macdonald with a specified list of colleagues, affords little hint of the difficulties he really had to encounter. That of a surplus of available men is not an unusual condition in such cases and may be passed over with the statement that the exclusion of Dr. Tupper and D'Arcy McGee has always seemed a curious one—the details not being generally known then or since. The necessity, however, of giving each Province proper representation, of leaving room for the admission of representatives from Manitoba and Prince Edward Island and British Columbia, of granting the Irish electorate a certain consideration and of recognizing the Protestants of the Eastern Townships of Quebec, was the rock upon which the nebulous Cabinet nearly came to wreck in the week preceding July 1st.* Eventually, this result was avoided by Dr. Tupper and his friend McGee retiring from the

* Information given to the author by Sir Charles Tupper and other survivors of the Confederation period.

"slate" on which they had, of course, been among the first to receive a place and thus making it possible to give the French-Canadians another representative. The Ministry was as follows and was sustained at the ensuing elections by a fair majority:

Sir John A. Macdonald, *Premier and Minister of Justice,*
Hon. A. T. Galt, *Minister of Finance,*
Hon. William McDougall, *Minister of Public Works,*
Sir G. E. Cartier, *Minister of Militia and Defence,*
Hon. S. L. Tilley, *Minister of Customs,*
Hon. J. C. Chapais, *Minister of Agriculture,*
Hon. Alexander Campbell, *Postmaster-General,*
Hon. Peter Mitchell, *Minister of Marine and Fisheries,*
Hon. W. P. Howland, *Minister of Inland Revenue,*
Hon. A. J. Fergusson-Blair, *President of the Council,*
Hon. Edward Kenny, *Receiver-General,*
Hon. H. L. Langevin, *Secretary of State,*
Hon. A. G. Archibald, *Secretary of State for the Provinces.*

Of these members Macdonald, Galt, Cartier, Campbell, Langevin, Chapais, and Kenny had been Conservatives, and McDougall, Tilley, Mitchell, Howland, Archibald, and Fergusson-Blair Liberals—under previous Provincial conditions. Many of the latter, indeed, continued for some time to call themselves by the old name and to consider their Ministry as a coalition. The events of the decade following the formation of this administration were all-important in the making of Canada. Those which stand out most prominently, with one exception, were the bringing in of the outstanding Provinces, the insurrection in the North-West, the Washington Treaty, and the developments leading up to the National Policy. They have been dealt with elsewhere in these pages. The exception was largely a political occurrence, but one which exercised a wide influence over the future policy of the Dominion—the Canadian Pacific Railway issue of 1872, which is described by Liberal partisans as a scandal and by Conservative partisans as a slander. It was in reality something of the one and something of the other. And, amid all these public issues and problems the vital work of national organization went steadily on.

General elections took place in 1872 and the Government

of Sir John Macdonald was sustained, though with a reduced majority. Reverses had been met with in Quebec and Ontario, owing partly to the fact that Sir George Cartier's failing health led to mistakes in the management of matters in the former Province and partly to the unpopularity of the Washington Treaty in the latter. Much fear was also felt and expressed as to the cost of the proposed Canadian Pacific Railway. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, however, made up for other losses by the most sweeping Conservative success. In Nova Scotia, owing to the wonderful influence of Howe—even when the personal regard of the people for him had greatly changed—there was but one member returned in opposition to the Union Government, where, in 1867, with him on the one side, there had been only one elected in its favor. Much, of course, was due to the fact that Howe and Tupper were now working together. In this year the Earl of Dufferin came out as Governor-General to fill a viceroyalty memorable for his personal tact and unfailing courtesy, for his eloquence and popularity, and as being the foundation of a career of steadily growing diplomatic reputation and power. Incidentally, Canadian riflemen in competition with the crack shots of Great Britain had captured the Kolapore Cup at Wimbledon.

THE TRANS-CONTINENTAL RAILWAY PROJECT

But the great event of the year in Canada was Sir John Macdonald's attempt to carry out the Federal pledge to British Columbia regarding the proposed trans-continental railway. He interested a number of capitalists in the project, but they, unfortunately, formed two distinct Companies for the purpose of constructing the road under contract. They obtained incorporation and inaugurated a fierce rivalry in Parliament and the press. The Inter-Oceanic Company of Toronto had Mr. (afterward Sir) D. L. McPherson as its President, and men such as the Hon. William McMaster, the Hon. Frank Smith, and the Hon. G. W. Allan, of Toronto, Senator Simpson of Bowanville, the Hon. Isidore Thibaudeau

and David Torrance of Montreal, the Hon. John Carling of London, Casimir S. Gzowski of Toronto, John Boyd of St. John, and Senator Price of Quebec, upon its Directorate. Sir Hugh Allan, the leader of many transportation interests and a capitalist of keen energy and enterprise, was President of the Canada-Pacific Company of Montreal, with men of the calibre and standing of the Hon. (afterward Sir) J. J. C. Abbott, the Hon. John Hamilton, the Hon. C. J. Coursol, and the Hon. J. L. Beaudry of Montreal, the Hon. James Skead of Ottawa, the Hon. J. J. Ross of Quebec, the Hon. Donald A. Smith (now Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal), Sir Edward Kenny of Halifax, Donald McInnes of Hamilton, and C. F. Gildersleeve of Kingston, upon his Directorate.

The measure upon which this rivalry was based had been introduced in Parliament by Sir George E. Cartier on April 26, 1872, as a Bill for the construction, under charter, of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which was to extend "from some point on, or near, Lake Nipissing to some point on the shore of the Pacific Ocean." A grant of 50,000,000 acres was to be given in blocks of twenty miles in depth on each side of the line of the railway in Manitoba, the North-West Territories, and British Columbia, and alternating with similar blocks held by the Dominion Government for sale or grant. A cash subsidy of not more than $30,000,000 was also to be granted. The measure passed on May 28th after several amendments moved by Messrs. Edward Blake, A. A. Dorion, and Alexander Mackenzie, on behalf of the Liberal party, had been voted down. During the debates upon this question, in connection with the admission of British Columbia in 1871 and in this Session of 1872, the Opposition laid strenuous stress upon the work as being altogether beyond the resources of Canada and dwelt constantly upon the frightful burdens of taxation which it would involve. One leader said it could never pay for the axle-grease upon its wheels, and Mr. Blake in a famous speech declared that British Columbia was only a "sea of mountains," and therefore hardly worth so great a sacrifice.

The Bill passed, however, and then came the delicate and difficult task of bringing together the rival interests of the capitalists, in one strong corporation, for its construction. The Companies had been originally formed as a result of Sir John Macdonald's private efforts to interest Canadian men of money in the matter in preference to allowing the contract to drop into the open hands of American capitalists, who had early expressed their willingness to take hold of the enterprise. Sir Hugh Allan, however, had at once communicated with the Americans, and, although their names did not appear upon his Directorate, it was well known that if he were successful in obtaining the contract their interest would be a predominant one. Mr. McPherson, on the other hand, had formed a Company which was purely Canadian. The hope of the Government, in such a difficulty, was the combination of the two concerns in such a way as not to absolutely exclude American capital while preventing it from obtaining a dominant influence in the matter. Moreover, Sir Hugh Allan was too important a man, too experienced in transportation affairs, and had been too generous to the party which Sir John Macdonald led, to make it desirable to put him entirely aside. It was at this juncture that the general elections of 1872 took place and what was afterward termed the Pacific scandal occurred. Following the elections and as a result of the apparent impossibility of bringing the two Companies together—largely because Sir Hugh Allan and Mr. McPherson each desired to be President of the consolidated concern—the charter was eventually given to a new Company with Sir Hugh Allan at its head. Then the greatest political storm in Canadian history burst upon the country.

THE PACIFIC RAILWAY CHARGES

On April 2, 1873, amid suppressed excitement and in an atmosphere laden with the hopes and fears of political electricity, Mr. Lucius Seth Huntington rose in the House of Commons with a statement and motion of serious import. He was a good speaker and a politician of some ability who

had been a member of Sandfield Macdonald's Government in the early "sixties" and was destined to hold a place in the next Dominion Cabinet. The charge he made was dramatic in style and solemn in substance. It meant that the Government had trafficked with foreigners in connection with Canadian railway interests and in order to obtain money to debauch the constituencies in the elections of 1872. Stripped of verbiage, it declared that Sir Hugh Allan, acting for American capitalists, had practically obtained the Pacific charter for them and himself through the contribution of large sums of money to the Conservative campaign fund and that this money had been obtained from the United States capitalists referred to through a man named G. W. McMullen. For the moment Mr. Huntington offered no proofs, but demanded the appointment of a Committee of the House to inquire into the whole matter of the Railway charter. Upon motion of Sir John Macdonald a Select Committee composed of Messrs. J. G. Blanchet, Edward Blake, A. A. Dorion, James McDonald, and John Hillyard Cameron—three Conservatives and two Liberals—was promptly appointed. A measure was also passed to enable the Committee to make its inquiries from witnesses under oath.

Parliament then adjourned to 13th August, when it was thought that the Committee's Report might be received. Meanwhile, the Oaths Bill was disallowed in London as being illegal and the work of the Committee rendered practically impossible. A tremendous sensation was also created and a new turn given to the whole question by the publication of a series of letters and telegrams in Montreal which seemed to clearly indicate the guilt of the Ministry. Mr. McMullen, it was afterward shown, had obtained them surreptitiously from the desk of Mr. J. J. C. Abbott, the legal adviser of Sir Hugh Allan. In plain English, they had been stolen and then made public. Appearing without any explanation, except of a hostile character, they seemed so serious that public sentiment was roused to a white heat and much anger was shown toward Lord Dufferin for not at once dismissing his

Ministry. These documents were all of a somewhat similar nature. The most important of them was as follows and was marked "Private and confidential":

MONTREAL, 30th July, 1872.

DEAR SIR HUGH—The friends of the Government will be expected to be assisted with funds in the pending elections, and any amount which you or your Company shall advance for that purpose shall be recouped to you. A memorandum of immediate requirements is below.

Very truly yours, (Signed) GEORGE E. CARTIER.

Now wanted:

Sir John A. Macdonald	$25,000
Hon. Mr. Langevin	15,000
Sir G. E. C.	20,000
Sir J. A. (add'l)	10,000
Sir G. E. C. (add'l)	30,000

Other documents were receipts for similar sums, requests for more and a telegram which became particularly well known in the elections and controversies of succeeding years. It was addressed to Mr. Abbott at Montreal, on August 26th, signed "John A. Macdonald," and read as follows: "I must have another $10,000; will be the last time of calling; do not fail me; answer to-day." Mr. Abbott promptly wired to draw on him for the amount. In his subsequent evidence before a Royal Commission Sir Hugh Allan gave a list of the total sums which he had contributed in this connection. They included $85,000 to Sir George Cartier's Committee in Montreal—where he fought a losing battle in a very doubtful constituency, against the advice of Sir John Macdonald, and was beaten; $45,000 to Sir John himself, for election expenses in Ontario; and $32,600 to Mr. H. L. Langevin for election expenses at Quebec. Such is the bare detail of the matter and it certainly looks bad enough. Fill in these particulars with the natural animus of party warfare; add the suspicions resulting from a season of company promoting and charter controversies; mix up in this mess the unsustained allegations of disappointed capitalists and defeated politicians, and the result is still more unpleasant.

Yet time and the justice of historic retrospect have thrown strong light into this dense shadow and relieved the situa-

tion of much that at first seemed inexcusable. Sir Hugh Allan was a man who would have been naturally connected with such an enterprise as the Canadian Pacific Railway, both by public fitness and financial power. He was, and always had been, a Conservative and is understood to have given almost as liberally to party funds in a preceding election as in this one of 1872. His great transportation interests depended very largely for success upon the progressive policy of the Government and would have made him contribute to its campaign fund without any question of a C. P. R. charter. He practically controlled the Canadian freight and passenger traffic to Europe through the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company and was aiming to keep this trade as against a proposed ocean line under the auspices of the Grand Trunk Railway. He, therefore, had purchased, or projected, or obtained control of railways from Toronto to Quebec—notably the North Shore Railway and the Northern Colonization Line. If he could obtain the political assistance and co-operation of Sir George Cartier in his projects it would mean much in the Legislature of Quebec and would probably enable him to defeat the efforts of the Grand Trunk to capture his ocean traffic by means of a rival line. Hence it was that this $162,000 subscription to the election funds might have been obtained by Cartier without reference to the Canadian Pacific matter at all.

Meanwhile, the election had been going on. Sir John Macdonald knew nothing of the immense sums which were obtained, personally, by Sir George Cartier for what he had described as the "insane" election contest in Montreal and it is not difficult to understand his twice-repeated calls for money during the strenuous struggle he was carrying on in Ontario. In the midst of it, on July 30th, he received a letter from Sir Hugh Allan, saying that he had made an arrangement with Cartier by which the construction of the railway had been promised to his Company if the attempts at amalgamation should fail. Without a moment's hesitation Sir John telegraphed a repudiation of the whole matter and explicitly

declared that Cartier had no authority to make any arrangement of the kind. Then, as the Premier afterward pointed out,* Sir Hugh subscribed to the party fund the amounts elsewhere indicated, "in the face of a positive intimation from the Government through me, that the road would not be given to his Company, but only to an amalgamated company."

This must have been a serious blow to the ambitious financier, but, on the other hand, he had to consider the very real danger to the whole project, and to his general transportation interests, if the Government were defeated. Evidently, as a business man, he balanced his chances and decided to back the Conservative party for all he was worth. It was a case of inclination and policy going hand in hand. There is no doubt, also, that Cartier had committed the Government to a degree of which Sir John Macdonald had no conception, and in which his repudiation of the written arrangement seems to have had little effect. The reason for Cartier's extraordinary course throughout this entire period was only known to a few at that time, and was never known to the public. In the confidential communication to Lord Dufferin, already quoted, Sir John says: "Not until after his death (May 20, 1873), and the evidence was produced, were any of his colleagues aware of his insane course. As I have already said, it showed too clearly that his mind had broken down as well as body. Of course, I can say this to you only, as I would rather suffer any consequences than cast any reflection upon his memory before the public, or say anything that would have even the appearance of an attempt to transfer any blame that may attach to these transactions to any one who is no longer here to speak for himself."

He then went on to point out that neither he, nor any member of the Government, had the slightest knowledge of the situation created by Cartier in Montreal. He also referred to the fact that money was necessary for the legitimate expenses of an election; that in Canada, unfortunately, there

* Private letter to Lord Dufferin, explaining the situation, written on October 9, 1873, and not made public until 1894.

was no Carlton Club to conduct the financial part of a campaign; that money was collected and must be collected for these purposes, and that it had to pass, more or less, under existing circumstances, through the hands of Ministers. He might have pointed out that no one, even in those days of fiery accusation, ever charged him or his colleagues with benefiting personally by the moneys thus received, and, it may be added here as greatly to his credit, that up to the day of his death Sir John Macdonald never uttered a word of reproach, or of insinuation, regarding the conduct of Sir George Cartier. The latter's long friendship and co-operation with Sir John and his sincere work for Canada deserved this. But, the incident is none the less a lasting proof of the personal fidelity and honor of a Canadian leader under severe strain.

Regrettable as the whole episode was, hurtful as it was to the position and prospects of all concerned, injurious as it was to the fair fame of Canadian politics, it is yet reasonable to say that the ensuing national condemnation was sufficient punishment to the Conservative leaders, and that Sir John Macdonald has come out of the whole transaction much cleaner politically, and much better personally, than even his ardent followers at that time had hoped for. There has been much nonsense written upon this subject. Money is needed in elections and must be obtained. There was no Conservative so rich and so available as Sir Hugh Allan, and, unless he expected to buy the charter by this means, there was no corruption in connection with Dominion politics in his contribution. This can hardly be said, however, as to his expectations from Sir George Cartier in Quebec politics. The unfortunate mental and physical ailments of Cartier at this time are, perhaps, sufficient excuse for him, and it is also apparent that Sir John Macdonald was not really responsible, though he fully assumed the responsibility, for his colleague's vagaries. On the other hand, his instant repudiation of Cartier's tentative promise, and the refusal of the Government to aid Allan's pretension to the Presidency of

the amalgamated Company after the elections, relieves him from personal suspicion.

Meantime, a Royal Commission had been appointed on August 13th to practically take the place of the now useless Select Committee. It was composed of three well-known Judges—the Hon. Charles Dewey Day, the Hon. Antoine Polette, and the Hon. James Robert Gowan. They presented a Report to the Governor-General on October 17th containing a summary of the evidence taken under oath, and His Excellency at once summoned Parliament to consider it. Mr. Mackenzie, as leader of the Liberal Opposition, promptly moved a Resolution of "severe censure," and a debate followed which teemed with dramatic incidents, and was permeated by a sullen sentiment of Conservative dissatisfaction. On November 3d, Sir John Macdonald delivered a defence and explanation of four hours' duration, and, if any single speech could have saved the situation, it would have done so. But he saw that the feeling had grown too strong for even his personality to overcome, and he prevented the passage of the vote of censure by retirement from office.

THE MACKENZIE GOVERNMENT

Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, a clear-headed Scotchman, who had risen from the humble labors of a stone-mason to the high functions of a legislator, and whose character is one of the most honest and straightforward in Canadian political history, became Prime Minister on November 7th. With him in the new Ministry were the Hon. A. A. Dorion, the sturdy leader of Quebec Liberalism—soon to become Chief Justice and to adorn for many years the Bench of his native Province; the Hon. Richard J. Cartwright, a one-time Conservative, and destined to be remembered as the Canadian embodiment of clear, cold, cutting oratory of a type which combined the culture of an English gentleman with the occasional savagery of a backwoods Indian; the Hon. Luc Letellier de St. Just, a typical *grand seigneur* of Quebec; the Hon. Albert J. Smith, who, in New Brunswick, had

fought Confederation as Dorion had in Quebec; the Hon. L. S. Huntington, the hero of the moment, and destined to practically drop out of Canadian history and politics a few years later; and the Hon. Edward Blake, a man possessed of remarkable legal acumen, of great abilities which never reached their higher possibilities of development, of political attainments which did not include the essential of popularity and the quality of tact, of oratorical powers which were great in the presentation of accumulated logic, but very weak in the faculty of carrying popular conviction. Parliament was dissolved on January 2, 1874, the new Ministry swept the country, and remained in power until 1878. Sir John Macdonald, despite his willingness to resign, was maintained in his position as leader of the Conservative party, and, after a two years' interlude of practical rest, went to work upon lines which were to once more carry him back to office—this time for the rest of his life.

George Brown, who had been beaten in the elections of 1867, and had been called to the Senate in 1873, was now practically out of politics, and so remained—except through the great influence of his paper—until the miserable murder, in 1880, which removed his sincere and strenuous personality from the life of Canada. Many other changes had also taken place in the *personnel* of politics. Sir Francis Hincks, after a brief interval of power as Finance Minister under Sir John Macdonald, had retired into private life; John Sandfield Macdonald had become the first Premier of Ontario, been defeated after a few years of economical administration, and shortly afterward had passed away; Oliver Mowat had come down from the Bench in 1872 and taken the Premiership of Ontario, which he was destined to hold for twenty-four years, amid an ever-increasing reputation for shrewdness and skill in managing men; Joseph Howe had passed away in Nova Scotia, and Charles Tupper become the undisputed Conservative leader of all the Maritime Provinces; Hiram Blanchard, William Annand, P. C. Hill, S. H. Holmes succeeded each other as Premiers of Nova Scotia up to the days when John

S. D. Thompson and W. S. Fielding came to the front; A. R. Wetmore, George E. King, and J. J. Fraser came to the surface of affairs in New Brunswick, while Wilmot and Tilley and Chandler retired successively to the cool shades of Government House at Fredericton; in far-away British Columbia J. F. McCreight, Amor de Cosmos, A. C. Elliot, George A. Walkem, Robert Beaven, William Smithe, A. E. B. Davie, and John Robson succeeded each other as the head of Ministries which it would be exceedingly hard to politically define.

In all the Provinces constructive difficulties and constitutional problems were bound to arise, and did arise, from time to time. In Ontario they took the form of a boundary question with Manitoba, which was settled by the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council in favor of the older Province; of questions of jurisdiction over rivers and streams, of the right to prohibit the sale and manufacture of intoxicants, of the power to appoint Queen's Counsel and similar subjects. In most of these cases the contention of the Province was sustained. In the Maritime Provinces the chief issue thus raised was the New Brunswick School question. In April, 1871, the Legislature of that Province practically abolished Roman Catholic Separate Schools, and organized its system upon a non-sectarian basis. The minority appealed through the various Courts to the Judicial Committee, where, finally, the appeal was dismissed. Then they went into the political arena, and in May, 1872, a stormy debate took place at Ottawa, without any other result than the positive refusal of the Dominion Government to intervene in the matter.

The most significant of all these earlier controversies, however, was the constitutional one created by the dismissal, on March 4, 1878, of the De Boucherville Ministry in Quebec. The Lieutenant-Governor, M. Letellier de St. Just, could not get on with his advisers, and, therefore, dismissed them while in possession of a majority in the Legislature. He called in Henri Gustave Joly, who assumed responsibility for the ac-

tion and managed to hold office for over a year. The constitutional principle seems to have been met fully by the Governor finding a Premier to shield his action. But here came the political issue—a much more prominent feature in such a *coup-d'etat.* Letellier was a Liberal, his Minister was a Conservative, Joly was a Liberal. The Conservatives were aggrieved at the dismissal, and took the old Liberal ground, that it was an infraction of the responsible government principle under which a Governor is supposed to be bound by his advisers so long as they possess a Parliamentary majority. This was the ground taken by Sir John Macdonald at Ottawa. The Liberal leaders there, however, took the position that the Governor had been relieved of responsibility by his new Premier, and this really seems to be the true constitutional position and not incompatible with the correctness of the other. The debate was a bitter one, and M. Letellier was maintained in his place and his policy. When, however, the Conservatives came into power at Ottawa, soon afterward, it was inevitable that some action should be taken, and, despite the objections of Lord Lorne, who believed that the office of Lieutenant-Governor would thus be degraded to the position of a party appanage, Letellier was dismissed.

Incidentally, this case marked a change in the functions of the Governor-General. The Marquess of Lorne,* who had succeeded Lord Dufferin in 1878, in referring the proposed dismissal to the Colonial Office, had been advised in reply that he should follow the suggestions of his Government. This was, practically, the final step in making his position a similar one, in all the relations of Governor-General to Cabinet and Parliament, to that of the Sovereign in England. Meanwhile, the politics of Canada had been slowly improving as the scope of operations and public thought had widened. They were still essentially Colonial and rather

* Lord Lorne became Duke of Argyll in 1900 by the death of his father. Lord Dufferin, after serving as Viceroy of India and in other positions of great importance, was created Marquess of Dufferin and Ava. It may also be added that Lord Stanley of Preston, a later Governor-General, became afterward the 16th Earl of Derby.

narrow, but were steadily broadening out toward the Imperial development of the succeeding quarter of a century. No doubt the experience of the leaders in forming the constitution, and then bringing it into practical and full operation, was a great factor in this progress.

Since Confederation, Messrs. Galt and Rose and Hincks, as successive Finance Ministers, had been compelled to evolve a new financial system; to bring together varied threads of conflicting Provincial experience; to create a new and broad fiscal policy suited to several Provinces and many diverse interests; to build up a Dominion banking system. It was not an easy task. The country from ocean to ocean had also to be considered and studied in its public works, its possible public improvements, its vast requirements for transportation facilities, its complex and antagonistic railway and waterway systems. A Department of Marine and Fisheries, dealing with conditions of international import and touching American rivalry on the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Great Lakes, had to be established and maintained. Intricate questions of revenue as well as tariff, of relations between the Provinces and with the United States, had to be considered. Difficult constitutional and administrative points in connection with the admission of new Provinces had to be met, the wants of the vast areas of the far West satisfied from time to time, the Indians looked after and controlled, the whole postal system of half a continent organized, or reorganized.

The first Government of the Dominion had, indeed, no easy task, and there were not a few great problems, such as the creation of the Supreme Court of Canada, which descended to their successors. Upon the whole, however, they were successful, and had the new Ministry of Mr. Mackenzie been amenable to public opinion and requirements and sentiment, upon issues such as protection and the rapid construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, they would have had a splendid opportunity of being also distinguished for constructive statesmanship.

CHAPTER XXI

THE NATIONAL POLICY OF PROTECTION

THE story of the rise and fall of tariffs, or the ever-present controversy between the principles of free trade and protection, is not usually considered a subject of absorbing attractiveness. Yet, in the case of Canada, the annals of the "N. P.," as it was universally called for years, present features of really popular and permanent interest. They include the consideration of important underlying movements connected with the birth and travail of a new country and an incipient national sentiment. They were vitally concerned with the personal success or failure of a great man and the rise into prolonged power of the party which he had been mainly instrumental in creating.

A TURN IN THE TIDE OF CANADIAN AFFAIRS

They marked the turn in the tide from poverty to prosperity, from what might be termed national infancy to national boyhood, from dependence upon the United States in fiscal matters to comparative independence, from Provincial looseness of tie and separation of interests to genuine co-operation and partnership, from smallness of popular view to a wider horizon and greater individual enterprise. How far the National Policy was instrumental in this undoubted development is a still disputed point and must remain so under existing party conditions; but as to the present necessity for a protective tariff, and the inferential necessity for its creation, there seems, even now, to be a pretty general assent in all Canadian parties.

Following Confederation a somewhat peculiar state of affairs existed in the new Dominion. There was the shell of a great state, the institutions and machinery of a country which stretched in nominal union from ocean to ocean and

covered over three million square miles of territory. But the population was thinly scattered over its vast area; the progress of national prosperity was somewhat slow; the sentiment of Canadian unity was decidedly weak; the Provinces leaned considerably in matters of trade interchange, and demand and supply, upon the States to the south of them; railway communication between the Pacific and the Great Lakes had not been established and seemed almost too great an undertaking for so youthful a people; and comparatively little exchange of thought or commerce as yet passed between the Provinces.

A CHANGE IN TARIFF CONDITIONS

The tariff was at first a uniform one of 15 per cent upon all goods coming into the Dominion, and this average reduction of 5 per cent on what had been the tariff of the Canadas, under Mr. Galt's fiscal policy, was for a time sufficient to prevent the market being monopolized by American manufactures, although it was not sufficient to be protective in the sense of encouraging home industry. It simply enabled Canadian manufacturers to hold their own during the period of Sir John Macdonald's first Government from 1867 to 1873.

The reason for this condition of affairs and for the change which began to show itself about 1872 was the simple fact that all the native powers of recuperation and productive capacity which the United States possessed were required, in the half-dozen years following the Civil War, for the supply of its own people and the meeting of new conditions North and South, in both agriculture and industry. During these years the small 15 per cent tariff was enough to prevent serious competition with the tiny and still tentative industrial development of Canada. But by the time of the general elections in 1872 it was an open secret that some increase of duties would soon be necessary, and although the storms of the Canadian Pacific "scandal" broke over and shattered the Ministry—which had been successful at the polls—the necessity was accepted by its Liberal successor and the tariff was

increased under Mr. Mackenzie to 17½ per cent. At that point, however, the Government stayed its hand and no amount of persuasion, no cloud of discontent upon the horizon, growing in shadowy outline as the years passed on, would move the Government in the direction of pure protection. American manufacturers, meanwhile, had revived, prospered, and then over-produced. They had supplied their own market and then turned to find other worlds to conquer, and the nearest and most exposed was the Canadian field.

Between 1873 and 1878 their goods poured over the frontier and beat down prices below what the small Canadian firms, with their limited production and market and capital, could hope to touch. Then, after the local industry had collapsed, prices were again raised, and the American firms held their captured market in apparently secure shape. All over the country this was happening, and even the farmer began to suffer from the inrush of American wheat and other foodstuffs. From every side came demands for a change of policy, but Mr. Mackenzie and Sir Richard Cartwright, his Finance Minister, were firm in their view that while a tariff might, and must in this case, be imposed for revenue and at uniform rates upon all kinds of goods coming into the country, it was unwise, retrogressive, and injurious to single out industries for special protection, or for the Government to "spoon-feed" any individual interest in the country.

Sir John Macdonald, however, was quick to see not only the rising sentiment of the people and his own opportunity, but, it may surely be believed, a possibility of benefiting the community itself. With him practice was always superior to theory and the practical needs of the moment more important than the vagaries of academic schools of thought. Nor was he inconsistent, as his opponents have frequently claimed. He had supported the protective policy of Galt in the old Canadian Assembly of 1858-59, and had spoken in favor of helping local industries at Hamilton, in 1861, and elsewhere in other years. In 1876 the issue was coming to a head. A Commission of Inquiry into the existing condition of affairs

had been appointed, and, under the Chairmanship of Mr. David Mills, presented an academic Report admitting the financial stringency and industrial depression, but condemning the adoption of Protection as a cure, on the ground that such a system would diminish the consumption of foreign goods, would lessen the revenue by $9,000,000, would increase the price of home-manufactured goods, would impose a heavy tax on the consumer, and was, generally, a proposition to relieve distress by the redistribution of property.

SIR JOHN MACDONALD TAKES UP THE QUESTION

Sir John Macdonald and the Conservatives accepted the gauntlet thus thrown down and had, indeed, anticipated it in the following motion presented to the House on March 10th by the Tory leader:

"That this House regrets that His Excellency the Governor-General has not been advised to recommend to Parliament a measure for the readjustment of the tariff which would not only aid in alleviating the stagnation of business, but would also afford fitting encouragement and protection to the struggling manufactures and industries as well as to the agricultural products of the country."

The proposal was, of course, voted down by the Government's majority, but the issue was clearly presented and, if possible, made more so by succeeding Resolutions, of which the most important is that of March 7, 1877. It was proposed by Sir John and declared that "the welfare of Canada requires the adoption of a National Policy which, by a judicious readjustment of the Tariff, will benefit and foster the agricultural, the mining, the manufacturing, and other interests of the Dominion."

It was defeated by forty-nine majority, and then Dr. George T. Orton proposed a Resolution declaring that the adoption of such a policy would retain the people in Canada and lessen the growing migration to the United States; would restore prosperity to the now struggling industries of the country; would prevent Canada from being any longer a mere sacrifice market for American products; would encourage and develop an active trade between the Provinces; and, by mov-

ing in the direction of reciprocity of tariffs with the United States, would help in eventually procuring reciprocity of trade. Upon this motion, which was defeated by 114 to 77 votes, the ensuing elections were chiefly fought.

Meanwhile, matters went from bad to worse in a commercial and financial sense. Whatever the value of the American market, it was absolutely closed to Canadian productions in most of the important lines, while American manufactures and producers had a full sweep of the Dominion. American wheat, rye, barley, Indian corn, wheat flour, oatmeal, coal, salt, wool, pig iron, iron and steel rails, bricks, and flax had free entry into Canada, while similar Canadian products entering the United States were charged high duties—from wheat at 20 cents a bushel to steel rails at $25 a ton. Home-made products in Canada were steadily driven to the wall while the poverty-stricken people could no longer afford to import British goods, which went down in bulk-value from $68,000,000 in 1873 to $37,000,000 in 1878. As with the industrial and mercantile interests so with the agricultural. In 1878 the Dominion actually imported $17,909,000 worth of flour, grain, animals, and other agricultural products from the United States in competition with home-made productions.

The Conservative battle-cry became one of "Canada for the Canadians," and, under all the circumstances, it is not wonderful that the slogan attached to the side of Sir John Macdonald much of the best and brainiest support in the community. Newspaper men found something to discuss in the broad question of protection better than many of the small and local issues of the past and keen spirits such as John Maclean—who had long been urging such a policy—R. W. Phipps, Thomas White, C. H. Mackintosh, and Nicholas Flood Davin enthusiastically advocated a new and more national system. Even Mr. Goldwin Smith—the ever caustic publicist—was stirred with a momentary political ambition, and, in 1878, is stated to have sought a Conservative nomination and did certainly support the proposed National Policy. Charles Carroll Colby, afterward a Minister of the Crown,

wrote a powerful pamphlet in its support. Mr. D. L. McPherson issued a number of similar contributions to the discussion. Dr. Tupper, with all the force of his strenuous oratory, joined Sir John Macdonald on a myriad platforms and did great service to the cause; while in July, 1878, Mr. S. L. Tilley descended from the Lieutenant-Governorship of New Brunswick and contributed his fluent, silvery speech and pleasant personality to the issue and the support of the Opposition.

The Government had been also reinforced by the logical, argumentative faculty of David Mills and the pleasant, persuasive eloquence of Wilfrid Laurier. Mr. Mackenzie had been strengthened in health and reputation by a visit to Scotland and by the splendid reception he had been given in his native place as well as by the sense and patriotism of his speeches on the soil of his ancestors. With Cartwright, Huntington, Mills, and others, he went through the country in 1877 and 1878 everywhere nailing the flag of a revenue tariff to the masthead of his party's fate. It was a striking struggle in every sense of the word and the sweeping success of Sir John Macdonald was not less interesting because of the surprise felt by his opponents at the result. Mr. Mackenzie at once resigned, and, on Ocotber 17, 1878, the new Conservative Ministry was formed—one which lasted with variations in leadership and fluctuations in membership until 1896. Sir John Macdonald was, of course, Premier, the Hon. James McDonald, afterward Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, was Minister of Justice, Sir S. Leonard Tilley* was Minister of Finance and retained the post until 1885, Sir Charles Tupper was Minister of Railways and Canals and held the position until the same date, Sir Hector L. Langevin was Postmaster-General, and afterward, for many years, Minister of Public Works. Other members of the Government were L. F. R. Masson, Mackenzie Bowell, J. C. Pope, L. F. G. Baby, John O'Connor, Sir Alexander Campbell, and R. D. Wilmot.

* In 1877 Richard J. Cartwright, Samuel Leonard Tilley, Charles Tupper, William P. Howland, and Alexander Campbell were knighted with the insignia of K. C. M. G.

THE NEW TARIFF

During the Session of 1879 Parliament dealt with the somewhat vague pledges of the "National Policy" platform, and, under the direction of Sir Leonard Tilley, did it thoroughly. The tariff presented in the budget speech of this year was distinctly protective to every industry which was deemed capable of being encouraged, and, from the general principles of the important fiscal changes then announced there have, in twenty years, been only two serious departures —the iron and steel policy of Sir Charles Tupper and the Preferential tariff of Mr. Fielding. The first of these was an extension of the protective principle, the other was a modification of it in form without seriously affecting it in detail. Of course, the budget and its important fiscal proposals did not pass without strong opposition. The Hon. Alexander Mackenzie—soon to be succeeded in the Liberal leadership by Mr. Edward Blake—moved in amendment on April 7th:

"That while this House is prepared to make ample provision for the requirements of the public service and the maintenance of the public credit, it regards the scheme now under consideration as calculated to distribute unequally, and therefore unjustly, the burdens of taxation; to divert capital from its national and most profitable employment; to benefit special classes at the expense of the whole community; tends toward rendering futile the costly and persistent efforts of the country to obtain a share in the immense and growing carrying trade of this continent; and to create an antagonism between the commercial policy of the Empire and that of Canada that might lead to consequences to be deeply deplored."

The Resolution was, of course, defeated on a party vote and by a large majority—136 to 53. From this time onward the attacks of the Opposition upon the National Policy were continuous and became more and more acrid as the years passed on. Until 1884, however, no more clearly defined motions were submitted to the House of Commons except in connection with detail duties, such as those on coal and breadstuffs and lumber, proposed by Mr. Laurier in 1882, and one regarding pig iron and other kindred products by Mr. Isaac Burpee in the same Session. After 1884, the Liberal

policy and fiscal proposals made Reciprocity with the United States their central theme.

The story of the National Policy and its results has been told a myriad times upon Canadian platforms, from many standpoints and with infinitely varied data. Criticism and censure have been as plentifully showered upon it and its makers as have appreciation and admiration. To do justice to the subject it should be looked at with liberal views and from a wide outlook. The policy is generally limited in popular conception to the increase of duties in 1879 from 17½ to an average of about 30 per cent and to the consequent encouragement of industrial development through the application of those duties to the protection of specified interests. It had, in reality, a far wider range. Without the redundant revenues and increased credit which followed the Canadian Pacific could not have been completed for very many years; the North-West and British Columbia would have remained isolated dependencies, leaning upon American support; ocean communication with the Orient would have remained a dream and inter-provincial trade an unknown factor. Hence, practically, the National Policy covered a very wide field—one far beyond the conception of it as being a mere matter of increased fiscal duties.

There can be no dispute as to what followed the tariff changes of 1879, though there is much dispute as to the degree of responsibility. Confidence was restored and enterprise revived. Soup kitchens, which had been established for paupers and the unemployed in large centres, disappeared, and "good times" came as if by magic. Giving every credit in this latter respect to the easier circumstances of the people in the United States at this period it still seems evident that had the tariff gates remained down, the prosperity on the other side of the line could have only meant increased production there and larger exports of goods and products to the Canadian market. Revival here would, consequently, have been very slow, if, indeed, it had come at all. Leaving probabilities and assumptions aside, however, it is clear that a new

spirit did develop in the young community and that hopelessness and listlessness in business disappeared to a very great extent. Exports grew from $79,323,000 in 1878 to $121,013,000 in 1896; imports expanded from $93,089,000 to $108,011,000; trade with Great Britain grew from $83,089,000 to $99,670,000, and with the United States from $73,876,000 to $103,022,000. With France and Germany, with South American countries and China and Japan, commerce steadily developed.

Manufacturing interests increased and improved in a most marked manner. Between 1881 and 1891, according to the census returns, the number of establishments increased by 26,000, the capital invested by $189,000,000, the number of employees by 115,000, the wages paid by $41,000,000, the value of the manufactured product by $166,000,000. The revenue rose from $22,517,000 in 1879 to $38,579,000 in 1891, while between those years $77,000,000 were expended upon railways, $22,000,000 upon canals and waterway improvements, and $25,000,000 upon public buildings and public works. Meantime, the debt of the country, also, increased from $140,000,000 in 1878 to $253,000,000 in 1895, and the taxation per head from $4.37 to $5.02. The large imports of American farm products were greatly restricted, and the export of cattle, sheep, and provisions to Great Britain grew from a practically stationary figure of $7,000,000 in in 1879 to $28,045,000 in 1895. Manitoba and the North-West steadily developed and villages grew into cities, while the trade between the Provinces came to exceed $100,000,000 in value.

Of course, all this admitted expansion was not without corresponding diminution in certain lines of trade; suffering from external influences such as the McKinley tariff; ups and downs in financial feeling and popular prosperity. But there has never since 1878 been any condition even comparable with the state of affairs then. In the general elections of 1882 and 1887 and 1891 the chief issue before the people was the tariff—though complicated in the latter years by

the Riel question, and the inevitable turmoil of a racial and religious cry. Whether the Liberal party in these years was led by Edward Blake or Wilfrid Laurier; whether it supported a revenue tariff as in 1882, incidental protection as in 1887, or unrestricted reciprocity as in 1891, the real issue was always the tariff. The National Policy, or something else, was the question before the people, and on each occasion the former won. In 1896, the Manitoba School matter overshadowed everything, and the prolonged tariff controversy was allowed to lapse into the limbo of forgotten issues.

A tariff for protection as well as for revenue was then finally accepted as settled, and the issue of the future came to hinge, not upon the time-honored and world-wide battle between free trade and protection, but upon the development and details of an Imperial trade policy, in which sentiment was to play a prominent part, and a compromise of hitherto opposing principles prove the only possible settlement.

CHAPTER XXII

CONSTRUCTION OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY

WHATEVER the effects of the National Policy in an economic sense, there can be no doubt that it increased the revenues by $13,000,000 in three years, decreased the business failures from $29,000,000 in 1879, to $5,700,000 in 1881, steadily developed inter-provincial trade and mutual interests, and witnessed, during its first four years of life, an increase of $77,000,000 in the external commerce of the country. Of course, there were subsidiary causes for this sudden development of good times, but the people as a whole were inclined to credit the National Policy with much of the expansion which followed its establishment.

TWO FACTORS OF INDIVIDUAL AND PUBLIC SELF-CONFIDENCE

Two facts are undoubted amid all the conflicting confusion of current fiscal argument. They were really inter-

changeable, and included the restoration of public confidence in private and public enterprises of a financial character, and the growth of a national sentiment which made the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway a possibility. Without these two factors of individual and public self-confidence, neither the revenues, nor the credit, nor the sentiment of the country would have permitted the carrying out of so huge an undertaking.

Sir John Macdonald had tried to initiate the enterprise, in 1873, by means of private companies of capitalists, and had failed in the midst of an almost obscuring cloud of scandal and slander. Mr. Mackenzie's Government had endeavored also to keep the pact entered into with British Columbia, when that Province joined Confederation, in 1872, upon the promise of a railway over the vast prairies and sea of mountains which lay between it and the rest of Canada. He had developed a scheme of gradual and economical building, under which contracts were let by the Government for bits of road between given bodies of water and over the easier stretches of land. There was no continuity of work or completeness of policy. The difficult parts of the undertaking, such as the route around the north shore of Lake Superior and through the Rocky Mountains, were conveniently postponed, and the lakes on the route were to be used as navigable portions of the line instead of the railway being taken around them. When Sir John Macdonald came into power again, in 1878, he found that solitary lines of railway, scattered here and there, were completed, or under way, but were without bond of union or any very practical efficiency.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS CONTINENTAL ROUTE

As soon as other matters permitted, attention was turned to the necessity of more rapid and organized action. The public had at last grasped to some extent the importance of this continental route to the unity and expansion of the Dominion; British Columbia was pressing for the carrying out of Federal pledges; and the acceptance of the new Na-

tional Policy tariff, as presented to Parliament by Sir Leonard Tilley in the Session of 1879, had cleared the political path and promised to provide steadily growing revenues to the Government. Some efforts had been made in the meantime to carry on Mackenzie's plan, and further small contracts had been actually entered into. But, in 1879, the opportunity presented itself for a renewal of the old policy of 1873 under stronger and better auspices. A small Syndicate of Canadian and American capitalists had been latterly operating the St. Paul and Pacific Railway—a line running through Minnesota to the international border and connecting there with the Pembina and Winnipeg branch of the proposed continental road.

With these men and some others, including George Stephen, Duncan McIntyre, and Donald A. Smith, of Montreal; R. B. Angus, of the Bank of Montreal; J. S. Kennedy, of New York; Morton, Rose & Company, of London, and James J. Hill, of American railway fame, the Government commenced negotiations for the assumption of the greater enterprise. Sir Charles Tupper, who was Minister of Railways from 1879 to 1884, impressed his usual energy and force upon the matter, and, on May 10, 1879, moved a series of Resolutions in the House of Commons embodying the policy of the Government and promising 100,000,000 acres of North-West land to any Company taking up the work. A contract was finally made with the syndicate for the building of the line and for the payment by Government of $25,000,000 in cash, with a grant of 25,000,000 acres of land in alternate lots along the route. On December 13, 1880, Sir C. Tupper moved the acceptance of the arrangement by Parliament, and fought the measure through the House in long and able and forceful speeches.

But this is anticipating the narrative. It had seemed possible, in 1873, after the fall of the Macdonald Government, that the railway project might fall with it. The new Government and the Liberal party did not, certainly, appear enthusiastic over what they truly felt to be the as-

sumption of vast responsibilities. They lacked faith to some extent in the future, and this is the worst that can be said of their attitude and subsequent policy. The project was an enormous one for a Government to assume which had only some scattered and not wealthy Provinces to depend upon and a population of less than 5,000,000 at its back. Moreover, the Liberal party had never approved of the pledge to British Columbia, and would have very naturally been glad of relief from the burden of the now evident obligation. Seeing this situation at Ottawa, Lieutenant-Governor Sir J. W. Trutch, of British Columbia, had hastened on behalf of his Government to register, in 1873, a protest against further delay.

Much correspondence followed, and in February, 1874, the Mackenzie Government decided to send a special envoy to the distant end of the Dominion, in order to ascertain the exact state of public opinion in the Province; to see if it were possible to arrange conditions under which the railway might be built and slowly completed without reference to the promised ten years of the Confederation compact; to, in short, feel the public pulse as to a change in the terms of Union. They selected Mr. (afterward Sir) J. D. Edgar for the mission, and armed him with many letters and elaborate instructions. On the 9th of March he arrived in Victoria, and, eventually, submitted proposals which involved the immediate commencement and rapid completion by the Dominion of a local railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo, on Vancouver Island; the speedy settlement of the route to be followed by the railway on the mainland; the immediate building of a wagon-road through the almost impassable mountains and of a telegraph line across the continent; the expenditure of a minimum amount of $1,500,000 annually upon the road, within the Rockies, until it was completed.

FIRST STEPS IN CONSTRUCTION

The discussion was fruitless, whether because of a lack of diplomacy and tact upon Mr. Edgar's part, as one reputa-

ble historian states,* or because the Provincial Government wanted their full pound of flesh. In June the proposals were withdrawn, the envoy recalled, and Mr. George A. Walkem, the Premier of British Columbia, went to London to lay his case before the Colonial Secretary and the Imperial authorities. A triangular controversy followed, some of it decidedly acrimonious, until, finally, all parties agreed to accept the Earl of Carnarvon as arbitrator in the affair. His proposed terms of settlement were submitted to Lord Dufferin in a despatch dated November 17, 1874, and may be summed up as follows:

1. The rapid building of the Nanaimo-Esquimalt Railway.

2. The pressing of the mainland surveys and the selection of a definite route over the mountains with all possible despatch.

3. The immediate construction of the wagon-road and telegraph lines.

4. The minimum expenditure of $2,000,000 a year upon railway works, within the Province, from the moment that the surveys should be completed.

5. The completion of the railway and its readiness for traffic, from the Pacific seaboard to the western end of Lake Superior, by December 31, 1890.

Some of the details in this compromise were not very acceptable to the Dominion Government, but they abided by the settlement, as arranged, and an Order-in-Council was issued on December 18th expressing their adhesion to its terms. Then began the detached method of construction already referred to. Naturally, the Conservative Opposition had endeavored to make capital out of the slowness of operations. On March 13th, Dr. Tupper moved a long Resolution embodying the since generally accepted view of Canada's responsibility in the matter, and urging the Government "to employ

* Dr. George Stewart. "Canada Under the Administration of the Earl of Dufferin."

the available funds of the Dominion" for the completion of the road. This was defeated on a party division. In the succeeding year, on March 28th, Mr. Amor de Cosmos, of British Columbia, moved a lengthy Resolution of censure upon the Government for its slowness in carrying out the pledges of the Dominion to his Province. It only received seven votes. A motion by Mr. G. W. Ross, afterward Prime Minister of Ontario, declaring that the expenditure should only be such as "the resources of the country will permit without increasing the existing rates of taxation," was carried, and an amendment proposed on behalf of the Opposition by Mr. J. Burr Plumb, and stating that the country was pledged to the undertaking, that the surveys should be energetically pressed and the construction of the road prosecuted with rapidity, was voted down. On April 21, 1877, Dr. Tupper presented a motion of censure upon the Government for their general railway policy. It was negatived by a party vote.

During the succeeding year the Conservative party came into power, and on May 10, 1879, the new Minister of Railways and Canals—Sir Charles Tupper—moved a lengthy Resolution detailing the engagement of Canada to build the Canadian Pacific Line; its importance as "a great Imperial highway across the continent of America entirely on British soil"; its desirability as providing a route for trade and commerce to China, Japan, and the Far East; and setting forth an elaborate plan for construction under the auspices of the Government and by means, chiefly, of a grant of 100,000,000 acres of North-West lands. Mr. Mackenzie promptly moved an amendment recapitulating Liberal policy and denouncing any further increase in taxation. The original motion, of course, carried. During the ensuing Session of 1880 Mr. Edward Blake proposed a much more drastic Resolution against the Government's railway policy and asked the House, without success, to declare that "the public interests require that the work of constructing the Pacific Railway in British Columbia be postponed."

Meanwhile, however, the Canadian Pacific Syndicate was formed as already described, and after prolonged negotiation arrangements were entered into with the Government. In accordance with this agreement Sir Charles Tupper moved in the House, on December 13, 1880, that it was expedient to grant 25,000,000 acres of land and a subsidy of $25,000,000 cash for the construction of the road. Prolonged debates followed in which Messrs. Blake, Cartwright, and Mills were pitted against Sir Charles with results which did not reflect discredit upon the forceful Minister of Railways. Many amendments were proposed and rejected—notably one by Sir Richard Cartwright declaring that the whole contract was objectionable and the consideration excessive. These amendments were almost innumerable and were proposed, among others, by Messrs. Laurier, Mills, Anglin, F. W. Borden, Paterson, Charlton, Rinfret, G. W. Ross, M. C. Cameron, P. B. Casgrain, and George E. Casey. All were antagonistic and all were defeated on strict party lines. The discussions were exceedingly keen and at times fierce.

By the terms of the contract, as finally passed in the Session of 1881, the Syndicate undertook to form a Company and build the road to the Pacific within ten years, and afterward to operate it, for the consideration in lands and money, as above. They were, of course, to have the right of way through public lands and the necessary ground for stations, docks, etc. Steel rails, telegraph wire, and other articles for use were to be duty free, and the sections of railway already built—from Lake Superior to Winnipeg, from Emerson to St. Boniface, and from Burrard's Inlet to Savona's Ferry—were to be handed over by the Government to the Company. All the Company's property connected with the road and its capital stock were to be free of taxation. The Government also undertook that no line south of the railway should be chartered by the Dominion, or by any Province created by it, except in a southerly direction. This last provision afterward became famous as the "monopoly clause" and the cause of much excited controversy.

FINANCIAL HISTORY OF THE RAILWAY

The work before the new Company was no easy undertaking. The difficulties of construction were enormous; the engineering skill needed to overcome them now seems to have been little short of the marvelous; the costliness of many portions of the line was as great as the obstacles of nature were threatening. It required gigantic faith to enter upon the plan of construction; immense energy and financial skill to carry it through. Nor were conditions very favorable to the large monetary operations which were necessary. The initial capital of the Company was $5,000,000, issued at par, and this was increased in 1882 to $25,000,000—the new stock being allotted to existing shareholders at 25 per cent of par. A little later it was increased to $100,000,000, and $40,000,000 of this was sold at an average of 52 per cent, while the balance was deposited with the Dominion Government. In 1885, $35,000,000 of this latter amount was canceled. The Company also issued $25,000,000 of first-mortgage 5 per cent 50-year land-grant bonds, of which the greater part was afterward redeemed.

This summary of financial operations gives no idea, however, of the struggles and vicissitudes, the sacrifices and possible ruin, which were faced by the men in control of the Company and the project during these years. In London, where most of the money had to be obtained, a lukewarm feeling existed toward the enterprise. Moneyed men were influenced by the natural hostility of the Grand Trunk Railway toward this new and formidable competitor; by the tremendous difficulties which nature had placed in its path; and by the double fact of so many millions of English capital having been already thrown away in the Grand Trunk and of more millions being menaced by the success of any new rival. It was, of course, fully expected and understood that the railway could not remain a western one, but would seek eastern connections and make itself, in time, a truly continental line. "To write the history of the battle," says one

writer,* "which the Directors of the Canadian Pacific Railway had to fight in England at the outset would require several volumes."

Distrust and fear and political enmity in Canada also exercised a powerful indirect effect upon the credit of the Company abroad. The Opposition in Parliament denounced both policy and project over and over again and with ever-increasing energy. A part of the Canadian press followed suit and the platforms of the country in the elections of 1882 rang the changes of a most persistent pessimism regarding the whole enterprise. Coupled with the already instinctive hostility of vested interests this sort of thing had a natural effect in the money market and upon the resources of the Company. They went on vigorously and rapidly, however, with the construction, and in the autumn of 1881 Mr. (afterward Sir) William C. Van Horne became General Manager. In 1883, the Directorate was composed of Messrs. George Stephen, R. B. Angus, W. C. Van Horne, and Donald A. Smith, representative of Canadian interests, and Messrs. John Turnbull, H. Stafford Northcote (now Lord Northcote), C. D. Rose, Baron J. de Reinach, R. V. Martinson, and W. L. Scott, representative of English or foreign interests.

During this year and the early part of 1884 a crisis in the affairs of the Company developed. Their money grant from the Dominion had been expended, the proceeds of stock sales had gone into construction, the private resources of some of the Canadians concerned—notably George Stephen and Donald A. Smith—had been pledged, the Bank of Montreal itself had become deeply concerned. More money was absolutely necessary and more money seemed impossible to obtain. The influence of rivals and the prolonged teachings of political pessimism were having their inevitable innings. Much of the railway was built and money should have been comparatively easy to raise at this stage of construction;

* Alexander Begg, of Winnipeg, in his "History of Manitoba."

but such was not the case. London, under the various influences described, would not invest, and the success of the whole enterprise, the financial credit of Canada, the future prosperity of the Dominion, hung in the balance.

The Company approached the Government for a loan of $22,500,000 and the Government hesitated. They naturally feared the fresh responsibility; they knew that public opinion had been greatly worked up against further financial connection with the Company; they were doubtful of their own supporters in the House. What followed is one of those secrets of later Canadian history not yet known to the public and only known in full to a very few. Opinion in the Cabinet was divided, and had it not been for the persistent efforts of Sir Frank Smith, backed up by the ever-cheerful optimism of Sir John Macdonald and the sturdy determination of Sir Charles Tupper, it is hard to say what the result might have been. Eventually a rearrangement was made. The loan was granted—and repaid within two years—upon the transfer to the Government of the land-grants and of certain branch lines which had been built or purchased by the Company in Ontario, Quebec, and Manitoba. The Company stripped themselves of everything in order to proceed with and complete the work, and in doing so saved the railway from collapse, themselves from ruin, and the country from a setback which would have retarded its prosperity and growth by a quarter of a century.

The agreement passed through Parliament, after bitter opposition, and its passage marked the beginning of the end. The continental railway was very soon a fact, and, on June 28, 1886, a through passenger service between Montreal and Vancouver was inaugurated. Meanwhile, a steamship line had been established on Lakes Huron and Superior, a telegraph service completed along the line of railway, and immense elevators for the storage of grain built at Port Arthur, Fort William, and Montreal.

THE GREATNESS OF THE UNDERTAKING

The difficulties offered by nature to the actual construction of this trans-continental line were tremendous; the scenery along the route infinitely grand and varied. The railway had been carried around, or through, the massive cliffs of red granite which nature has thrown into innumerable shapes and marvelous conformations along the northern shores of Lake Superior. Rugged and seamed with trees, or smooth and bare in straight up and down masses of rock, these great walls now guarded one side of the thin line of rail which stamped the course of civilized progress through these vast wilds of rock and forest and water. Tunnels and immense trestle-bridges, prolonged blasting operations, and the scientific precision of engineering skill had opened up in this case a country of the greatest mineral resources. On through the forests and uplands and myriad lakes and rivers of the region between Port Arthur and Winnipeg, over the thousand miles of prairie to the foot of the Rockies, the road had been run. Then, for days of rapid travel, it had worked its way amid the cloud-crowned, snow-capped peaks of the greatest of the world's mountain ranges.*

Green, gray, solemn, and massive, these vast phenomena of nature now looked down upon, or were penetrated by, that little line of rail which marked the conquest of the inanimate by the animate. Down the deepest of grades and up the sides of the most forbidding of lofty mountains, with their crests encircled by everlasting storms and capped with eternal snows, the railway wound its path through tunnels and over trestle-bridges; along the banks of rushing rivers and wildly struggling mountain torrents; through the vast valley of the Kicking-Horse and over huge canyons and chasms; through the marvelous scenery of Roger's Pass and down the sides of

* Crossing these ranges in 1891, the writer met Sir Edwin Arnold, the author of "The Light of Asia," who told him that, in his opinion, they exceeded in grandeur the Himalayas, the Alps, or the Andes—all of which he had seen.

the roaring Fraser. Neither Canada nor its great railway can, indeed, be understood or appreciated—in either grandeur of scenery or difficulty of construction—until these mountains of British Columbia are pictured before the eye of the mind.

Lines of mountain peaks rise out of great valleys, in which a large river at times looks to the traveler in the train like a silver thread, and tower up into the clouds. Here and there huge glaciers are visible and the alternations of view afforded by the lofty summits and sides of the principal peaks, such as those of the Hermit, or Mount Stephen, or Mount Macdonald, are simply superb. Sunset, sunrise, or a snowstorm produce the most beautiful effects in coloring at the hands of nature—the greatest master of all art. Green and brown, purple and black, blue and white, are developed according to the weather and the time of day and sometimes all at once. Intensely dark and sombre and gloomy is the scene, or beautiful in the most varied, fantastic, and splendid forms. The transformations are never-ending. Here, perhaps, will be visible upon a dark mountain side lines of low trees, or shrubs, scattered amid the forests of pine and looking like rivers of grass; there, silvery streaks of snow. Here, a huge glacier of eternal ice; there, something looking like a vast pile of coral heaped in gigantic shapes by some demoniac or fantastic god of ancient mythology. Everywhere are the banks of rushing rivers—the Bow, the Kicking-Horse, the Columbia, the Beaver, the Illicilliwaet, the Eagle, the Thompson, or the magnificent Fraser.

Running down the mountain sides, skipping in merry cascades and myriad colors across or beside the railway, tearing wildly down steep inclines, rushing over huge rocks or precipices, roaring between massive stone-walls—turbulent or peaceful, grand or beautiful—these rivers and streams present a thousand varied charms. The scenery along the Fraser is simply matchless. In many places the great river is forced between cliffs, or vertical walls of rock, and foams and roars like some imprisoned giant of nature fighting to be free. The

railway is often cut into the cliffs hundreds of feet above and tunnels pierced through solid rock follow each other in rapid succession. After passing Yale the mountains moderate in size and grandeur, the Rockies and the Selkirks gradually become things of the past—lingering forever in the memories of the traveler—and the beautiful valleys and villages and fruit-farms of the coast region come into view.

Such are some of the scenes and obstacles which marked the labors of construction and stamped the event with elements of greatness which led the London "Times" to declare* that the conception of this trans-continental line was "a magnificent act of faith on the part of the Canadian Dominion," and that the small population of the country spread, as it was, over so vast a territory, had "conceived and executed within a few years a work which a generation ago might well have appalled the wealthiest and most powerful of nations." With the completion of the railway, four years before the original contract had called for it, there ended the prolonged political fight over its construction. In the words of Mr. Blake at Vancouver on April 30, 1891: "When the railway was built and finished I felt, myself, that it was useless to continue the controversy longer in deference to the whole country which Canada had risked so much to retain."

LATER POLICY OF THE COMPANY

Much more remained to be done, however, before the through line which had required so much of persistence, pluck, and financial and engineering skill to construct could be a dividend-paying concern. One of the first steps was to gradually acquire a number of smaller lines for the purpose of feeding the main railway or facilitating its transcontinental business. The Canada Central, the North Shore Line, the New Brunswick Railway system, the Montreal and Ottawa, the Atlantic and North-West, the Credit Valley, the Toronto, Grey and Bruce, the St. Lawrence and Ottawa, the Sudbury and Sault Ste. Marie, the Manitoba and South-

* Editorial, June 30, 1886.

Western, the Calgary and Edmonton, the Minneapolis and St. Paul, and a score of others, were amalgamated or acquired in various ways until the total mileage had become over 7,000. Larger and better grain elevators were built; the sleepers on the entire line were made or owned by the Company itself; splendid hotels were erected at Vancouver, Banff, Montreal, Quebec, and other places; handsome Clyde-built steamers were put on the Great Lakes; the Empress Line of steamers was placed on the Pacific and run from Vancouver to Hong-Kong; another and similar line was established between Vancouver and Australian ports.

All this was accomplished within a few years, though not without further difficulties of a political and financial nature. The latter were now easily overcome; the former included the prolonged struggle in Manitoba for the freedom of that Province from the so-called monopoly clause in the original contract. From 1880 to 1887, the agitation, in this connection, was continuous, and the demand of Manitoba to be allowed to build its own railways as it liked was as energetic as the free air of the Western prairies could make it. The original protests against the clause had been forcible, and the claim that the subsequent Dominion policy, of disallowing any local railway charters which conflicted with it, was crippling Provincial development and compelling the endurance of excessive rates, contained a sufficient element of fact to lend popularity to the continued protests. At the same time, the Dominion Government were bound by their arrangement, and it had not really been an unfair one in the beginning.

The Company had a right in view of their difficulties, the Government a right in view of their responsibilities, to prevent injurious competition to the new railway for a given period. But young communities are like young men—sometimes hot-headed and not always appreciative of past obligations and benefits. Hence the controversy reached an acute stage, in 1887, over the Dominion disallowance of the Red River Valley charter; and the Provincial and Federal officials almost came to blows at the scene of construction. Finally,

Mr. John Norquay, the Premier, accompanied by Mr. Joseph Martin, went to Ottawa, and an arrangement was come to by which the "monopoly clauses" were waived by the Company in return for a fifty-year Dominion guarantee of interest on a $15,000,000 issue of 3½ per cent bonds secured upon the Company's unsold lands—about 15,000,000 acres.

Meanwhile, the men who made the railway had become millionaires, as they deserved to be. Their energy had been herculean; their enterprise as creditable as their financial ability had been keen. They had risked everything, in reputation and personal resource, upon what had been declared to be a natural, geographical, and financial impossibility, and they merited high rewards. Success meant, also, the knitting together of the Dominion, the development of external trade, the peopling of the North-West, the growth of villages into towns and towns into cities, the forming of a new bond of Imperial unity. Mr. Stephen was created a Baronet of the United Kingdom by the Queen in 1888, and became Lord Mount Stephen in 1891. Mr. Donald A. Smith was created a K.C.M.G. in 1886, a G.C.M.G. in 1896, and a Peer of the realm in the succeeding year as Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal. Mr. Van Horne became President of the Railway in 1888, and a K.C.M.G. was very justly conferred upon him six years afterward. Sir Charles Tupper, who, in Parliament and out of it, had battled so vigorously and well for the great enterprise, became not only stronger in reputation through his exertions and successful advocacy, but was decorated with the G.C.M.G. in 1886, and created a Baronet two years later. Thus, out of strenuous conflict, political confusion, and financial crisis, the railway had been created and developed until it had become a power for good in many things; a power, also, for the advancement at times of selfish ends; a factor always, in Canadian progress and Imperial strength, which all the world has been compelled to recognize.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE NORTH-WEST AND THE REBELLION OF 1885

IT is interesting and instructive to note how often in history good appears to come out of evil. Nowhere is this result more frequently seen than in the ultimate consequences of war — whether the struggle be great or small. Certainly, little but evil could be seen in the year 1885 in an uprising of the Half-breeds and Indians upon the vast prairies of the North-West, and with all the possibilities of pillage and massacre which such a situation presented. Yet out of the event came an exhibition of united sentiment among the people of Canada's scattered Privinces which had not been conceived of; while the spectacle of volunteers, from Halifax to the far West, fighting side by side on behalf of the Dominion, crystallized what might have been a passing enthusiasm into a permanent and growing Canadianism.

CAUSES OF THE INSURRECTION

The causes of the trouble were nominally numerous; the real cause was the dominance of one restless, unscrupulous, flighty character among a restless race of irresponsible and ignorant men. After the stirring times at Fort Garry, in 1870, Louis Riel had not found his enforced residence in the Western States very pleasant, and had drifted back, been elected to a seat in Parliament from a Half-breed constituency, and, after expulsion from the House, had once more been compelled to disappear from public view. But he kept up his connection with the Half-breeds, and maintained his reputation as a sort of hero and leader among the hunters of the plain as he had once done among the peasantry around Fort Garry, now the Winnipeg of a new era.

In 1884, after the completion of his period of banishment, he reappeared for a time, and seemed willing to live quietly

and peaceably. The suspicions of the authorities at Ottawa were, in fact, lulled very largely to rest, although they were actually engaged in some measure of controversy with the Half-breed population. There were several reasons for discontent on the part of the latter, and the principal one was probably the advance of the white man's civilization into wide regions hitherto sacred to the gun of the adventurous sportsman, the wiles of the trader and trapper, and the wild, free open life of the Half-breed hunter. The whistle of the locomotive was being heard in the land, and the buffalo, as a result of utterly reckless shooting and killing, was disappearing from the region in which he had become the veritable staff of life to both Indian and Half-breed.

DISAPPOINTED WHITE SETTLERS

Moreover, there were disappointed white settlers scattered over the country to the far north, where it had at first been expected the Canadian Pacific would be built and their fortunes easily made, while there was some degree of anger among the Half-breeds, or Métis, of the Territories owing to certain land regulations of the Dominion Government. They desired to be placed in the same position as the Manitoba Half-breeds, who were each entitled to 240 acres and a patent of ownership. They opposed the Government method of surveying and granting lands, and claimed the right to follow the immemorial custom of the French *habitants,* and to locate their settlements upon the river banks in farms of long, thin strips of soil stretching away from the river frontage.

In September, 1884, a meeting of Métis was held at St. Laurent (a settlement on the Saskatchewan), and a Bill of Rights, or petition of grievances, was prepared, which asked for the subdivision of the North-West Territories into Provinces and equality of personal treatment with the Manitoba Métis; for patents to be granted settlers in actual possession of land; for the sale of 500,000 acres of Dominion lands and the expending of the proceeds upon Half-breed schools, hospitals, and similar institutions, and upon seed-grain and im-

plements for the poorer persons in their settlements; for the reservation of a hundred townships of swamp lands for distribution among Half-breed children during the next 120 years; for the maintenance of local institutions; and for the making of better provision for their Indian friends, neighbors, and relations.

The Government, meantime, had appointed a Commission to investigate the Half-breed claims and this action seems to show that whatever there had been of slowness in taking up the subject there was no serious indifference to the needs of this great part of the North-West population and that a little patience would have brought matters out all right. It was also stated by the Dominion authorities, in reference to the two chief grievances complained of, that it was actually in the power of any Half-breed properly entitled to it to obtain a patent for his farm by the ordinary legal process and that the claims put forward for a settlement similar to the Manitoba one were made by the very men who had been already settled with in 1870. However, Riel wanted a rising, and any peg in the way of complaints was sufficient to hang his purpose on. It is stated that he had the advice and moral assistance—though not the armed help—of sundry characters who were neither Half-breeds nor Indians, and who, no doubt, aided in that process of self-deception in which he had already proven himself an adept. Disappointed white contractors, disappointed white land-sharks, disappointed white farmers, in a few cases, had something to do with the trouble. They had nothing to lose in the disturbances which were sure to follow and which men of a pessimistic turn of mind had prophesied long before the event.

On March 22, 1885, the Government received word that the almost inaudible mutterings of suppressed sedition had broken into actual violence, and that Riel, with forty men, had seized the mail-bags and courier's horses at a place called Duck Lake. This point was not far from Prince Albert and Fort Carlton, where there were small posts of North-West

Mounted Police, and was in the region about half-way between two large Indian reserves—with several Half-breed villages not far off. It was some 300 miles from the line of the Canadian Pacific. The moment was an anxious one. Scattered on isolated farms, or ranches, or in tiny settlements throughout the vast extent of the Territories were many white people. Around them and among them were not only wandering Half-breed hunters and occasional Métis villages, but thousands of Indian tribes. If the latter rose in arms the slaughter and suffering of the white population would be very great. The 500 Mounted Police, located in small detachments at points distant from one another, would have been of little use in saving lives under any general rising.

MEASURES TAKEN TO SUPPRESS THE REBELLION

The Government's action was prompt. The day after the news had reached them of Riel's initial step the Commander of the Militia was traveling to Winnipeg after a long interview with Mr. A. P. Caron, the Minister of Militia and Defence; and in a few days 3,300 officers and men had been called out for active service and were on their way to the North-West. With some 1,600 officers and men who turned out from Manitoba and the Territories, and including the Mounted Police, the total force under General Middleton, therefore, presently amounted to over 5,400 men.* Many more thousands wanted to go, and the news which soon came that, on March 28th, Major Crozier, with 100 men of the Mounted Police and Prince Albert Volunteers, had come into collision with Riel at Duck Lake and been compelled to retire, leaving his dead on the field, fairly electrified the Dominion with indignation.

The best regiments of the militia and the most of the small regular, or permanent, force of Canada were, meanwhile, being sent to the front. The Canadian Permanent Artillery, with its Quebec and Kingston Batteries; the Queen's

* The official figures are 5,450.

Own and Royal Grenadiers of Toronto, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel W. D. Otter; the Midland Battalion, a splendid mixed regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel A. T. H. Williams, M. P.; the York and Simcoe Battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel W. E. O'Brien, M. P.; the Governor-General's Body Guard of Toronto, under Lieutenant-Colonel G. T. Denison; the 65th and 9th Battalions of Montreal (French-Canadian), under Lieutenant-Colonels Ouimet and Amyot respectively; the Halifax Provisional Battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel Bremner; the Montreal Garrison Artillery, under Lieutenant-Colonel W. R. Oswald; the Infantry School Corps of Toronto, the Governor-General's Foot Guards of Ottawa, the 7th Battalion of London, and the Cavalry School Corps of Quebec were the principal regiments, or in a few cases, portions of regiments, which went with all haste to the seat of trouble.

In Manitoba and the Territories some very useful troops were accepted for immediate service. Winnipeg contributed a Field Battery, a Cavalry Troop, a Light Infantry Battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Osborne Smith, the 90th Rifles under Lieutenant-Colonel McKeand, and the Winnipeg Infantry Battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Scott, M. P. From the Territories came Boulton's Scouts, a gallant little mounted body of a hundred men under Major (afterward Senator) C. A. Boulton, the D. L. S. Scouts of Qu'Appelle, the Moose Mountain Scouts, the Rocky Mountain Rangers of Calgary, French's Scouts of the Territories, and the Battleford Rifle Company.

The troops from Ontario and Quebec and Nova Scotia had a weary and dreary time in crossing the great gaps which still existed in the Canadian Pacific to the east of Port Arthur. The United States Government would not permit an armed force to pass over its territory by train, so that, as in the previous rising of 1870, much hardship and even suffering had to be endured. Let an extract from the official Report of Lieutenant-Colonel C. E. Montizambert, of the Artillery, picture the trying troubles of this period:

"About 400 miles . . . had to be passed by a constantly varying process of embarking and disembarking guns and stores from flat cars to country team sleighs and *vice versâ*. There were sixteen operations of this nature in cold weather and deep snow. On starting from the west end of the track on the night of the 30th of March the roads were found so bad that it took the guns seventeen hours to do the distance (30 miles) to Magpie Camp. On from there to the east end of the track by team sleighs and marching 23 miles further on; on flat cars, uncovered and open, with the thermometer at *fifty degrees below zero*. Huron Bay, Port Munro, McKellar's Bay, Jackfish, Isbister, McKay's Harbor, were passed by alternate flat cars on construction tracks; and, teaming in fearful weather round the north shore of Lake Superior, Nipegon was reached on the evening of the 3d April. The men had had no sleep for four nights."

But these and other hardships of the campaign were borne in a surprisingly cheerful spirit by men who in many cases had never known what privation meant, and had lived in luxurious homes or, at the least, amid surroundings of considerable comfort. All classes were to be found among the troops. College graduates, delicate-looking clerks, sturdy farmers' sons, men of independent means and position—all actuated with a common desire to suppress insurrection upon Canadian soil and to protect the hearths and homes of Canadian citizens. As indicated in Colonel Montizambert's statement, the time of the year was most unsuited for active campaigning. Around the northern shores of Lake Superior the cold was intense and further west the raw chill of the early springtime permeated everything, even when the actual cold was not severe. Transport was necessarily insufficient in a force which had been called out, equipped and marched, or carried, 1,000 miles in a few days. Fortunately, the Hudson's Bay Company, with its vast resources and knowledge of the country, rendered splendid assistance under the management of Major Bedson, the General's chief transport officer.

No better commander for this gallant little army of volunteers than Major-General F. D. Middleton could have been obtained. With a record of brave service in Australia, in New Zealand, and in India during the Mutiny—when he was strongly recommended for a V. C., but was debarred from

its receipt by the technical fact of his having been on the General's personal staff—and of organizing work at Malta, Gibraltar and Sandhurst, he was above the desire to obtain victory by the sacrifice of his men, or to make a rash effort at reputation by too great haste in operations. He was a bluff, kindly, cautious, and gallant officer who inspired his troops with confidence and won from most of his officers a measure of personal regard. He shared fully in every hardship and privation of the men, though at that time so well advanced in years as to make an arduous campaign a just matter for care and consideration.

THE PLAN OF CAMPAIGN

The march across the great expanses of wintry plain and frozen prairie from the railway to the seat of trouble was, indeed, a painful one to officers and men alike. Engineered roads there were none. Lord Melgund (now Earl of Minto and Governor-General of Canada), who was General Middleton's Chief of Staff, has described the cold as at times intense, the tent-pegs as being frozen into the ground, the boots of those who were riding as frozen to their stirrup irons, the men as marching twenty miles a day through perpetual high winds, cold rains, and occasional blizzards.

The campaign seems to have been skilfully planned. The General had to cover and protect a vast extent of country with a few troops. He had to arrange his men so as to overawe large reserves of Indians scattered through the Territories and thus prevent a general rising, while at the same time relieving Battleford, which was threatened, and attacking Riel and his clever lieutenant, Gabriel Dumont, in their headquarters at Batoche. Distances were tremendous and difficulties of transport and supply equally great. He divided his force into three Columns, with the Canadian Pacific Railway at, or near, Qu'Appelle, Swift Current and Calgary as the general base. The Column from Qu'Appelle to Batoche was commanded by the General in person and was made up of "A" Battery, Quebec, the Winnipeg 90th Battalion, the

Winnipeg Field Battery, the Royal Grenadiers, Boulton's and French's Scouts, part of the Midland Battalion and the Intelligence Corps—1,078 men altogether.

The second Column, from Swift Current to Battleford, was under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel W. D. Otter, and was composed of the "B" Battery of Kingston, the Queen's Own, part of the Governor-General's Foot Guards, and other corps which made up a total of 543 men. It had been originally intended that this Column should join General Middleton at Clark's Crossing, on the South Saskatchewan, and march with him on Batoche, but it was diverted to Battleford on account of the alarming reports regarding the situation in that vicinity. The third Column, which had to make a long detour by way of Edmonton, before meeting the other Columns somewhere on the North Saskatchewan, was commanded by a veteran officer who had spent many years in Canada at military organization work of various kinds —Major-General T. Bland Strange. His command was made up chiefly of the 65th Battalion and the Winnipeg Provisional Battalion. With some Scouts and Mounted Police he had 656 men altogether. Scattered along the line of railway at various defensive or strategic points were portions of the regiments mentioned. The Governor-General's Body Guard was at Humboldt, the Halifax men were at Moose Jaw and Medicine Hat, the York and Simcoe Battalion was at Fort Qu'Appelle, and other detachments, as the campaign progressed, were at Clark's Crossing, Touchwood, Calgary, Fort McLeod, and Cypress Hills. The base for the transport of supplies was placed at Swift Current, with Major-General J. Wimburn Laurie, an experienced officer and a member of the Dominion Parliament, in charge.

Everything was done quickly and, indeed, the speed of operations seems to have been the most remarkable feature of the campaign as it was, probably, the salvation of many helpless settlers and the cause of its short duration. Middleton's Column started on April 6th—eleven days after the first shot had been fired at Duck Lake, a distance of 1,700

miles from Montreal—for a march of 211 miles to the banks of the South Saskatchewan, where Riel was now playing his little game of sedition and death. Otter's Column left Swift Current on April 11th, marched 203 miles to Battleford, at the rate of thirty miles a day, and reached its destination on the 25th. General Strange left Calgary on April 20th and reached Edmonton on May 5th, after having marched 194 miles in fifteen days. Such figures convey some idea of the rapidity of movement which characterized this entire campaign.

The fate of the Columns was somewhat varied. That of Major-General Strange had little trouble to encounter until it reached Edmonton, near which place the Indians had risen under a chief named Big Bear and had destroyed farms and plundered food supplies in every direction. At a more distant point, called Frog's Lake, they had murdered nine men —including two priests—besides carrying away a number of women and children as prisoners. This occurrence had followed the incident at Duck Lake and was upon the lines of a policy of Half-breed co-operation with the Indians which Riel had hoped would be effectual elsewhere. From Edmonton General Strange—greatly assisted by some cavalry under Major S. B. Steele—moved down the North Saskatchewan to Fort Pitt, a Hudson's Bay Company fort, not far from Frog's Lake and 200 miles east of Edmonton. There he found that the post had been abandoned by Inspector Dickins and his small force of N. W. M. P. after a prolonged resistance to Big Bear. The Inspector and most of his men succeeded in escaping to Battleford, after suffering severe hardships. On May 24th the General marched out to meet the Indian chief and found him at a place called Frenchman's Butte, which he also found it impossible to take. A great morass was behind the position occupied by Big Bear and a frontal attack was, in the General's opinion, out of the question. He therefore retired to Fort Pitt, where he awaited the early arrival of General Middleton, after his expected juncture at Battleford with Colonel Otter.

CUT-KNIFE HILL AND FISH CREEK

Meanwhile, the Battleford Column had also met what seems to have been a partial reverse. Colonel Otter arrived at Battleford without serious incident and found the place menaced by a large band of Indians under one of the most astute of North-West chiefs—a man named Poundmaker. Various acts of depredation had been committed, some settlers killed and a certain amount of plundering done. But the situation does not appear to have been as serious as had been represented to General Middleton, nor is it likely that the astute Cree would have done anything which could not have been disavowed until he saw which way the campaign was likely to go. Upon Colonel Otter's arrival, however, the latter found the inhabitants of Battleford in a state of great alarm and Poundmaker with some 200 followers encamped about thirty-eight miles away. The Indian chief was said to be wavering between peace and war, with a sort of half-formed intention to effect a junction of his force and that of Big Bear. To prevent this a *reconaissance* of the Canadian troops was made in force and, at a place called Cut-Knife Hill, Otter came up with Poundmaker's braves. A general conflict followed which ended in the disablement of the Canadian guns, the loss of eight men killed and fourteen wounded, and a withdrawal to Battleford. There Colonel Otter awaited the hoped-for coming of General Middleton.

Everything now turned upon the first Column and its success with the forces under Riel and Dumont. On April 23d, the General had left Clark's Crossing and marched his force in two divisions—one on each side of the South Saskatchewan—toward Batoche. During the day it traversed eighteen miles of country, and on the next morning General Middleton's own part of the force came in contact with the enemy a few miles from the river in a thickly wooded ravine called Fish Creek. The rebels were well placed in deep and carefully protected rifle-pits, and, although the troops from the other side of the river were brought across, and the whole force

was engaged during the greater part of the day, it was found impossible to dislodge Dumont and his men without an actual frontal charge. This, Captain James Mason — afterward Lieutenant-Colonel in command of the Royal Grenadiers— offered to lead and begged earnestly for permission to do so. But the General showed his humane disposition by refusing to risk the lives of any more of his citizen soldiers. Enough, he declared, had been lost already. The killed, and those who died of wounds received during the fight, numbered ten, and the wounded men over forty. General Middleton had himself received a bullet through his cap, and many of the officers had had their horses shot under them.

The night which followed was a sufficiently gloomy one to volunteers unaccustomed to endure repulse with equanimity; and with the sounds of shot and shell and the shouts of combatants still ringing in their ears. The rebels, however, had lost some thirteen killed and eighteen wounded, and this appears to have been enough for them as they decamped to Batoche during the night. General Middleton now decided to stay for some time at Fish Creek, in order to complete his hospital arrangements, await expected supplies, and receive some more men who were on the way under Colonel Williams. These came by the steamer *Northcote,* on May 5th, and with them was Lieutenant-Colonel Bowen Van Straubenzie, who had served in the British army in India, China, and the Crimea, and had been for years connected with the Canadian militia. The infantry was at once formed into a brigade, with Van Straubenzie as commander, and, two days later, the advance upon Batoche was resumed.

THE BATTLE OF BATOCHE

This place had been the headquarters of Riel and his band of rebels from the beginning. Under the direction of Dumont, who possessed some natural instinct for military operations, it had been steadily strengthened by intrenchments and rifle-pits, and it was now known that the resistance would be desperate. On May 9th this fact was experienced. The

place was shelled and partially surrounded, but at the end of a day's fighting no real progress had been made. The General sent off orders to close up the lines of communication in case help should be required; despatched Lord Melgund to Ottawa with important messages, and an undertaking that should matters grow more serious he could return from Winnipeg; and camped during the night under the continued fire of the enemy. The succeeding day passed in an exchange of shots, and was marked by a slight forward movement on the part of the rebels. On the third day a *reconnaissance* was made with the view of exactly locating the enemy and preparing for the final attack. On the 12th a forward movement was initiated, and developed into a charge which burst through the rifle-pits, carried the enemy's quarters, streamed in triumph through the streets of the village, and killed 47 and wounded 163 of the rebels. Riel surrendered three days later, and was at once sent to Regina and placed in the hands of the civil authorities.

The battle proved an interesting revelation of the dash and spirit of Canadian volunteers, just as the preceding three days showed how they chafed under the delay caused by General Middleton's frequently expressed desire to avert the loss of life among his troops as far as possible. Five were killed, however, including four officers, and twenty-five wounded, including two officers, during this last day's fighting. The honors of the day are generally accorded to Colonel Williams, of Port Hope. Brave to the point of rashness and impulsive to the point of imprudence, he had led in the final charge and won a lasting reputation for the ensuing success. A couple of months later he died as a result of fever and brain inflammation preying upon a system already weakened by hardship and upon a nature sensitive in the extreme to criticism and to the necessary discipline of camps. A monument at Port Hope expresses popular appreciation of the "Hero of Batoche" while public memory has crowned him with a laurel of reputation.

Unfortunately, however, the event has been the cause of

considerable controversy, and a word must be said here regarding the matter. The responsibility for ordering the charge is largely the point in question, though it would seem as if that were hardly a matter affecting the credit of Colonel Williams. If he obeyed orders in advancing and forged ahead of the others, the result is greatly to his honor. If without orders, or in anticipation of them, he led his men in a mad rush upon the intrenchments of the rebels, then he assumed a responsibility which subordinate officers do not usually care to take, or, in the regular service, dare to take. The consequences of the charge might have been different, and in that case the position of an officer so acting would have been very unpleasant, no matter how great his bravery might have been. Lieutenant-Colonel George T. Denison, one of the best known of Canada's militia officers, and a man whose opinion carries weight, takes the somewhat extraordinary ground in a volume which has attracted much public interest in the last year of the century,* that "attempts have been made to detract from the credit due to Williams, by trying to spread the view that he acted under the orders of General Middleton and Colonel Van Straubenzie in bringing on the general action." He goes on to say that as a result of the charge the campaign, as well as the battle, was won.

It is a new contention for obedience to orders upon the field of battle to be stamped as discreditable. Aside from that, however, it is difficult to see how Colonel Williams's reputation can be injuriously affected by any statement of the fact that in leading the charge he did it under command of his superiors. If he was rash and impulsive enough to have led it without orders, as Colonel Denison believes from the evidence before him, then his reputation must rest upon the fact of success followed by death having made it impossible to criticise an action which, let it be repeated, might have had serious consequences of a very different sort. The official statements concerning the matter are sufficiently ex-

* "Soldiering in Canada." By Lieutenant-Colonel George T. Denison. George N. Morang & Company, Limited. Toronto.

plicit. General Middleton, in his Report of May 31, 1885, states that:

"Two companies of the Midland, sixty men in all, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, were extended on the left and moved up to the cemetery, and the Grenadiers, 200 strong, under Lieutenant-Colonel Grasett, . . . prolonged the line to the right, the 90th being in support. The Midland and Grenadiers, led by Lieutenant-Colonels Williams and Grasett, the whole led by Lieutenant-Colonel Van Straubenzie, in command of the Brigade, then dashed forward with a cheer and drove the enemy out of the pits in front of the cemetery and the ravine to the right of it."

The General then gives further incidents of the action, and finally adds that Lieutenant-Colonels Williams and Grasett "came prominently to my notice from the gallant way in which they led and cheered their men to the left, rush by rush, until they gained the houses on the plain—the former having commenced the rush." There appears to have been no desire on the part of the General to detract from any laurels which may have been won by Williams on this occasion, and he distinctly gives him first place in the Report quoted. In a further despatch, dated December 30th, he refers to his death in most sympathetic terms, and speaks of it as having deprived Canada of one of her best men and himself of a warm and sincere friend. Colonel Van Straubenzie, under his own signature,* has stated that "on the occasion of that charge on the rifle-pits of Batoche, on the 12th of May last, I ordered the late lamented Colonel Williams, in most emphatic and unqualified language, to advance to the charge, at the same time advancing myself in charge of the attacking party." Lieutenant-Colonel C. A. Boulton, who was an eye-witness of the fight, in his volume of "Reminiscences of the Rebellion," also speaks of Colonel Van Straubenzie's orders to advance, and of himself seeing the rapid rush of the Midlanders on the left and the Grenadiers in the centre, mixed with the 90th.

CONCLUSION OF THE CAMPAIGN

It would seem, therefore, reasonably clear that Colonel Williams led in the final charge and was closely supported

* "Toronto Mail." Letter published editorially on July 24, 1885.

by Colonel Grasett; that both officers were obeying the orders of Colonel Van Straubenzie; that the latter, as Brigade Commander, was following the plan of operations already mapped out by General Middleton. The action itself was only the gallant ending of a carefully arranged movement leading up to this result—and it seems as difficult, therefore, to understand how Colonel Williams, with his sixty or seventy men, could have won the campaign in obeying the order to charge at Batoche, as it does to see how the statement of the fact that he was so ordered can detract from his final reputation.

The rest of the campaign may be rapidly reviewed. On May 24th, General Middleton arrived at Battleford; two days later Poundmaker and his chiefs surrendered; on the 30th the General, with Gatlings, infantry, and cavalry, left by steamer to help Strange at Fort Pitt; within a few days separate forces under Strange and Otter, with Mounted Police from Prince Albert and a body of men under the General himself, were converging from different points upon the trail of Big Bear. After a stern chase over extremely difficult country, however, the pursuit was ultimately abandoned, and it was not until July 2d that the Indian leader came in and voluntarily surrendered. The rising was now at an end. The wearied and war-worn volunteers returned to their homes, and, at Toronto, Montreal, Halifax, and other points, received ovations which are worthy of more than a mere scanty reference here, and which stamped a spirit of growing Canadian patriotism deep down into many a hitherto doubting heart.

Riel, after a prolonged trial—held during a keen racial and sectarian controversy aroused through his being partly French by extraction and presumably Catholic in religion—was hanged at Regina on the 16th of November. The majesty of the law and the common-sense of national order were thus sternly vindicated, as they should have been fifteen years before. Eight Indians were hanged for murder and a number imprisoned for different terms. Among the latter was Poundmaker, who was given three years in the penitentiary,

and died before his term expired. A medal and clasp was issued by the Imperial authorities to all who participated in the suppression of the insurrection; the Hon. Adolphe P. Caron, who had proven himself an energetic and effective Minister of Militia, was made a K.C.M.G.; General Middleton, amid wide approval, was given the same honor, together with the thanks of the Canadian Parliament and a vote of $20,000.

An unfortunate aftermath occurred to the latter in the discovery of certain alleged irregularities in connection with a seizure of furs belonging to the rebels. The confiscation seems to have been permitted by the General without much thought and with the knowledge and concurrence of Mr. Hayter Reed, a Government official who accompanied him in an advisory capacity in connection with Indian and Half-breed civil affairs. Some of these furs were divided up among the General's Staff, with his permission, and a few were allotted to him. "As to my own share," he said in his pathetic Address to the people of Canada, issued on August 21, 1890, "I never received it, asked for it, or thought about it afterward." Yet, when the question of these furs was brought up by some irresponsible person, it was promptly seized upon by politicians as a means of damaging the Government, and the latter very ungenerously and weakly tried to escape criticism as to their management of civil matters in the North-West during the Rebellion by throwing the responsibility upon the General.

Then came a sort of hue and cry which is sometimes characteristic of democracies, and in this case was intensely discreditable, against the General. At an earlier date the Government had refused to make good General Middleton's recommendations for honors and promotions because there were no French Canadians included in the list, and the Members of Parliament and press of that Province had keenly resented the omission. They now joined readily enough in attacking the General, while the Opposition, too, thought they saw some political capital in the incident. Many of them did

not like an Imperial Commander of the Militia, and considered this as one more opportunity to throw discredit upon the system. The General was, therefore, thrown to the wolves of partisanship, and the Report of a Select Committee of the House was distinctly against him. His resignation had to follow, and an honest English gentleman and gallant officer, who would rather have cut his hand off than commit a dishonorable action, was compelled to leave the country under suspicion by not a few of having actually stolen furs! The whole episode was discreditable to Canada and to Canadians, and the Imperial Government never did a more just action than in receiving Sir Fred. Middleton with favor and making him Keeper of the Crown Jewels in the Tower of London.

The Rebellion by this time had been long passed, its issues more or less forgotten, its causes obliterated or healed, its subsequent political complications in French Canada soothed and modified. But the fact of Canadian troops having carried themselves so well; the memories of the killed and wounded at Cut-Knife and Fish Creek and Batoche; the feeling of unity which grew as a result of Canadians from so many Provinces standing shoulder to shoulder in a struggle on Canadian soil; the remembrance of the spontaneous enthusiasm which everywhere greeted the returning troops, had combined to develop the slowly growing national sentiment of the people as neither Confederation nor the great practical measures of progress during ensuing years had been able to do. Out of evil had come good; out of rebellion had come greater unity; out of war had come a wider patriotism.

CHAPTER XXIV

QUEBEC AND THE JESUITS ESTATES QUESTION

THERE is much in the political history of modern Quebec that is incomprehensible to the average Canadian outside of that Province and much in its peculiar combination of Church and State and racial interests that is of importance to every citizen of the Dominion as

well as essential to a knowledge of the myriad threads going into the composition of our Canadian story. All these and other phases of Provincial feeling found a place round the aggressive, genial, eloquent, and yet corrupt figure of M. Honoré Mercier.

QUEBEC CONSERVATIVE AND POLITIC

From Confederation up to his time Quebec had been mainly Conservative in its political complexion—loyal to Sir John Macdonald in Dominion policy, loyal to Conservative leaders in local matters, loyal to the Church of the French people in its then unquestioned sympathy with Canadian Toryism. The Conservative Ministries of P. J. O. Chauveau, George Ouimet, and C. E. B. de Boucherville succeeded one another between 1867 and 1878. Then, after a brief year of Liberalism under the Hon. H. G. Joly de Lotbinière, the old party reassumed office under the late Sir J. A. Chapleau and J. A. Mousseau, J. J. Ross and L. O. Taillon, as successive Premiers up to 1887.

A central figure of Conservatism in Quebec during these years was Sir Adolphe Chapleau. Brilliant in speech, clever in political management and perhaps not too exacting in political morals, he was for long one of the great leaders of his race and party in both Provincial halls and Dominion Parliament. Opposed to him there was no really commanding figure until the appearance on the scene of Honoré Mercier and Wilfrid Laurier. Resembling each other in vivacity and eloquence and in the graceful charm of French manners, no two men could be more unlike in character, in the faculty of personal growth, and in the test of ultimate success, than were these two leaders of French Liberalism. They were drawn into the crucible of conflict upon the Riel question, and the former came out successful in Provincial matters, while the latter was defeated in his Dominion campaign as a leader of the Liberal party. Yet victory in the former case meant ultimate downfall; in the latter case defeat spelt triumph of the highest kind which a political leader can win.

The result perhaps turned more upon the personality of the men than upon differences in their actual policy.

RISING SPIRIT OF SECTARIANISM AND SECTIONALISM

Mercier, in 1885, had flashed like a meteor across the political horizon. The moment was opportune. Louis Riel had been executed at Regina for his leadership of the Rebellion, despite the more or less fiery protests from French Canada—made under the zealously propagated belief that he was being punished at the instigation of the Orangemen of Ontario for the crime of being a Roman Catholic and a French Half-breed! Great meetings had been held in Montreal addressed by Mercier and Laurier, and the rising spirit of sectarianism and sectionalism was being fanned into a flame. The French members of the Dominion Government —Chapleau, Sir Hector Langevin, and Sir Adolphe Caron— were urged to resign, and the first-named was formally offered the leadership of what was to be called "Le Parti Nationale." He refused in ringing terms, Mercier accepted with equal eloquence, and the battle was on between parties and leaders alike.

An important change in the situation, as compared with past political conflicts, was very apparent. Hitherto the Roman Catholic Church had been in antagonism to, or antagonized by, the principles of Liberalism in the Province. Now, a great split in the Conservative party seemed inevitable from the fact of Mercier taking high ground for the Church and winning into the ranks of his new "National Party" the Ultramontanes, or extreme ecclesiastical element. Meanwhile, Riel had suffered for his crimes upon the scaffold at Regina. During 1886 the Provincial elections took place and Mr. Mercier flung himself into the fray with fiery eloquence and force. He battered at the hitherto invulnerable walls of local Conservatism with all the power of a position which included appeals to racial prejudice and religious bigotry, and, in the end, won the day. Mr. Taillon did not immediately resign, but, on the meeting of the Assem-

bly, was defeated and Mercier became Prime Minister on January 27, 1887. It was a striking victory for a man who had never held office except for a few months in the Joly Ministry of 1879 and who had faced the eloquent Chapleau and all the organized power of Quebec Conservatism. The meteor now for a time stayed its course and the public wondered what would follow a conflict which had resulted in the overthrow of old parties, the breaking of old political and ecclesiastical ties, the raising of the evil spirits of race antagonism and religious prejudice.

Meanwhile, the Riel question had precipitated a very important crisis in Dominion affairs. As the tide of Mercierism in Quebec rose higher and higher it looked as if the Conservative party was to be submerged in Dominion as well as Provincial matters. Even the magnetic personality of Sir John Macdonald appeared to have lost its influence in this wild war of words over the death of a weak and worthless rebel. He was freely denounced by French-Canadian speakers as "the enemy of our nationality" and was burned in effigy at Montreal, while Chapleau, Langevin, and Caron were bracketed together in public resolutions as "traitors to their country." Riel had come to be regarded as the hero of Quebec and one of the political martyrs of his race; Mr. Mercier was the leader of a movement which, in the sacred names of race and religion, would eventually avenge his wicked execution; the Parti-Nationale was to sweep out of existence the enemies of French Canada and of the Roman Catholic Church, and Mr. Laurier was to lead in the Dominion part of the project; the Province of Ontario was to be stirred up by Mr. Blake against those who had committed what 30,000 people on the Champ de Mars in Montreal declared to be "an act of inhumanity and cruelty unworthy of a civilized nation."

The flame of sectarian and sectional passion became so pronounced that even Sir John Macdonald, hopeful and optimistic as he naturally was, feared his Government would hardly weather the storm. "Le Monde," a French Conserva-

tive paper, said after the execution of Riel, and in doing so voiced the general sentiment of the press in Quebec, that: "Fanaticism wants a victim; Riel has been offered as a holacaust; and Orangeism has hanged him for hate and to satisfy an old thirst for revenge." The Toronto "Mail," the old-time Conservative organ, but now verging upon direct opposition to the Government, threw fuel on the rising flames by declaring "that the Conquest will have to be fought over again" and that the result would do away with the privileges of 1763. The "Orange Sentinel," in reply to the bitter diatribes of its Quebec contemporaries, declared before the execution that if the Government dared not hang the rebel the day would not be far distant when "the call to arms will again resound throughout the Dominion."

THE DEBATE IN THE COMMONS

Such was the position on March 11, 1886, when Mr. Landry presented in the House of Commons a somewhat famous Resolution to the following effect: "That this House feels it its duty to express its deep regret that the sentence of death passed upon Louis Riel, convicted of high treason, was allowed to be carried into execution." This Conservative member of Parliament described the Government's action in a strain of the fiercest invective and in language which was very frequently duplicated during the ensuing debate. This carrying out of the laws of the land against a blood-stained, calculating, corrupt, and twice-guilty rebel was to him a provocation flung at the face of a whole nationality, a breach of the laws of justice, an evidence of weakness on the part of the Ministry, the gratification of a long-sought vengeance, the wanton sacrifice of a French-Canadian Catholic upon the altar of sectarian hatred and bigotry. Many other speakers followed. Mr. Clarke Wallace declared that out of 2,000 Orange lodges in the country only six had passed resolutions on the subject. Mr. M. C. Cameron denounced the Government for having "trafficked in the destiny of a fellow mortal." Mr. Wilfrid Laurier,

in a speech which was remarkable for the purity of its diction and the beauty of its language and style, declared his own belief and that of his Province to be that the execution of Riel was "the sacrifice of a life, not to inexorable justice, but to bitter passion and revenge." Sir Hector Langevin and Sir Adolphe Caron strongly defended the Government to which they belonged.

Then came the most important event of the debate—the speech of Mr. Blake and the first prominent appearance of Mr. J. S. D. Thompson upon the arena of Dominion affairs. A man of solid attainments, high character, and excellent reputation, the latter had been a moderately successful Premier of Nova Scotia, a very successful Judge of its Supreme Court and had lately been appointed Minister of Justice at Ottawa. Practically, the House had not yet heard from him. Mr. Blake was still the Liberal leader. He had been defeated in the elections of 1882 and had now turned all his remarkable legal acumen, his keen intellect and patient perseverance in research to build up a case which, by logic and force of argument, should help to bring victory to his banners in 1887. To the wavering fabric of prejudice and passion, the creation of racial and religious bitterness, which had been evolved in the country and Parliament, he now sought in a speech which was admittedly a great one to give a basis of strength, a foundation of fact. It was a remarkable effort in its close reasoning, its display of constitutional knowledge, its vigorous invective. Precedents and authorities and references flowed from him as though created expressly for the occasion and intended by fate to fit like stones into the foundation of the political building he was seeking to strengthen. The House expected a great speech and received it.

It was different in the case of Mr. Thompson. Even the most enthusiastic Conservative did not expect this new Minister, about whom he felt some natural curiosity, to do more than present a fair case for himself and his cause. For him to overthrow Mr. Blake's elaborate structure was not thought

possible. The Liberals would have laughed heartily had any one claimed that this short, stout, fresh-colored, young-looking man from Nova Scotia would prove a match for Edward Blake. Success in such a supposition meant the defeat of the greatest logician and debater in the House of Commons and the complete defence of the Government in a matter involving most intricate constitutional issues. It would mean that a new man had pitted himself victoriously against a veteran in Parliamentary life and constitutional lore. Yet this was exactly what happened, on the 12th of March, in a crowded House and from a speech which received the closest and most critical attention. For two hours the quiet, unpretentious speaker held his audience so that a pin might have been heard to fall. The new Minister was, in fact, master of himself, master of his subject, master of the law in its theory, practice, and precedent, master of the House. He pierced the armor of Mr. Blake's argument with the most direct and irresistible skill, and, while not appealing in the least to his hearers' passions, prejudices, or sympathies, he subdued a critical and censorious body of men by the pure force of reasoning and logic.

Three days afterward the Government found themselves with a majority of 146 to 42. The threatened secession of the French element in the party had been averted, and a new leader had appeared who was to keep on growing in political stature until he became Prime Minister of Canada in 1892. The strength which his speech brought to the Government was sorely needed, and so was the not inconsiderable help which the fact of his being a Roman Catholic carried with it. For the time, however, although the Conservative majority in the House was safe, Mr. Mercier and Mr. Laurier seemed to hold Quebec in the hollow of their hands. Paper after paper went over to the Liberals, and fresh disaffection in the Conservative party ranks was a matter of daily report. The Provincial elections, as already described, had gone in favor of Mercier, and the finger on the wall of fate appeared to indicate the coming defeat of the Dominion Government.

But, in January, 1887, when the contest came on, the eloquence of Chapleau was pitted successfully against that of Laurier; the influence of Langevin with the Church, as a whole, was found equal to that of Mercier with the Ultramontane element; the ringing campaign oratory of the Hon. George E. Foster, who had come into the Government about the same time as Mr. Thompson, proved singularly effective in the English Provinces; the logical reasoning of the latter carried conviction to many minds; while over all, and mingled with all the other influences, was the magnetic personality of Sir John Macdonald. The result was a Conservative victory, with numbers even in Quebec, a sweeping majority in the Maritime Provinces and the North-West, and a fair one in Ontario. A little later the accession of Mr. Wilfrid Laurier to the Liberal leadership, in succession to Mr. Blake, was announced—the first French-Canadian party leader of both races since the days when nominal power rested in the hands of Sir Etienne Taché or Sir Narcisse Belleau.

ORIGIN OF THE JESUITS ESTATES QUESTION

Another question was now looming upon the political horizon which, in the end, appealed to many of the same passions and prejudices as those surrounding the name of Riel. The first stages in the history of the Jesuits Estates issue did not seem to involve any serious results. On the 3d of July, 1888, a Bill for the settlement of a long-standing dispute between the Society of Jesus, the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec, and the Province itself, was passed without opposition or contest through the Lower House of the Quebec Legislature. It went through the Council, also, without opposition, and in due course was assented to by the Lieutenant-Governor and became law—subject, of course, within a certain period to disallowance by the Dominion authorities should the legislation be considered unconstitutional or dangerous to the interest of the country as a whole. At first there was neither popular opposition nor serious criticism. With one or two exceptions, not a paper in Quebec

discussed the matter from a hostile standpoint, and the Protestant Committee of Public Instruction quietly accepted the promise of $60,000 for their schools, which was included in the measure.

It seemed, therefore, as if this was to prove a satisfactory settlement of a prolonged controversy and a complex problem. In origin the issue had been simple enough. During their heroic missionary labors in early Canada, the Jesuits had acquired lands and wealth for their Order, while winning laurels of martyrdom and personal fame for themselves. In 1791, after the general suppression of the Order by the Pope, the King of Great Britain issued a proclamation indorsing its suppression in Canada, but allowing the use of estates and incomes to the members so long as any of them should be alive. By 1800, the last Jesuit in Quebec had passed away, and the properties of the Order, it was claimed, were escheated to the Crown. But in cases of escheat a liberal proportion is frequently appropriated to the carrying out of the intention of the donors, or to indemnifying those who may morally consider themselves entitled to it. It was, therefore, believed by many, and including some of the leaders in the Church, that the reinstatement of the Jesuits by the Vatican at a later date, together with their incorporation by the Province, gave them this moral right—such as it was. The hierarchy of the Church in Quebec claimed, on the other hand, that under the terms of original suppression by the Pope, the estates should have passed to the Church as a whole and not to the Crown.

Hence a political situation in a Catholic Province which made it very difficult for successive Governors or Governments to move in the matter of satisfying either party in the Church, or of selling the lands so as to benefit the people at large. At every attempt to do so they were met by vigorous protests against the diversion of any of the properties from the charitable or religious purposes to which they had been originally devoted by private donors, or by grants from the King of France. There was only one authority, in connec-

tion with the subject, whom both elements of thought in the Church would recognize and whose decision would be accepted without demur. But to the Pope no Provincial Government had hitherto cared to appeal. Complications were possible, and political troubles, greater than any ills which would follow the further postponement of the matter, were always in view. Mr. Mercier, however, with all his faults, did not lack courage. He decided to settle the affair—and at the same time please the Ultramontanes who had stood by him in the elections—by referring it to Pope Leo XIII, as a sort of arbitrator. His Holiness accepted the position, after full explanations had been offered at the Vatican, and appointed the Archbishop of Quebec to act as his attorney in the subsequent negotiations. This latter arrangement, however, was subsequently canceled.

The Quebec Premier succeeded under these conditions in making an agreement by which the Jesuits were to receive $400,000 in quittance of claims aggregating $2,000,000, and a much-vexed question was to be apparently disposed of. In the preamble to his measure, however, he made the mistake of introducing the Pope's name as a sort of supreme arbiter between parties and sections in the Province. Whether this was done purposely, or ignorantly, whether it was conceived in a spirit of religious bigotry, or arose out of absolute forgetfulness that the rest of the Dominion was largely different in creed from his own Province, matters little in the result. And, whatever significance there may have been in such legislation, as carried out under the approval and arrangement of the authorities at Rome, it certainly passed unnoticed for the moment by the people of Quebec as a whole. The result was very different elsewhere. If Quebec had been in a flame of fury over the Riel matter, Ontario was now roused, slowly but surely, to a white-heat of indignation over this introduction of the Pope's name and power into Canadian legislation. Of course, in each case, it was only a portion of the people who were so greatly stirred up, but it was not the less a vociferous element, and one which found plentiful means of expression.

A KEEN SECTARIAN CONTROVERSY

Aggressive Protestantism in Ontario became fiercely angry. Orange lodges poured out denunciatory resolutions, and the Toronto "Mail" renewed its able but unwise attacks upon Quebec and its religious institutions. The Jesuits, as an Order and as individuals, were painted in the blackest shades which tongue or pen could produce, and all the pages of history were ransacked for illustrations which could inflame public opinion. Very soon the Protestant minority in Quebec caught fire from the flames of agitation elsewhere, and began to feel that they must have been deeply injured and that they should join in the movement for compelling the Federal Government to disallow the obnoxious measure. On the other hand, the French press took speedy and intense offence at the remarks of some of their critics in the other Provinces, and, before long, as bitter a sectarian struggle as Canada had ever seen seemed on the point of serious consummation.

For some time it was unknown what the Dominion Government would do. From a political standpoint they appeared to be on the horns of a serious dilemma. If they disallowed the measure, Quebec would probably be lost to the party; if they allowed it to become law, Ontario promised to cause an equally serious loss of support. On February 13, 1889, the first mutterings of the inevitable Parliamentary storm were heard as Mr. J. A. Barron rose in his place to ask certain questions about the Jesuits Estates Act of the Quebec Legislature. The Minister of Justice in clear and concise terms replied that the Government had considered the matter, and that he had himself reported the Act to the Governor-General as one which should (from a legal and constitutional standpoint) be left to its operation. Mr. Thompson was at once made the centre of a fierce campaign. His attitude in the Riel question was forgotten, and it was declared that religious prejudices had guided him in the present case. The Rev. Dr. George Douglas of Montreal, Dr. Carman, head of the Methodist Church in Canada, Canon (afterward Bishop)

Du Moulin, Principal Caven of Knox College, and many other divines, attacked him personally and the Government generally in terms of fiery invective and indignation.

Meetings were held in Toronto and elsewhere as fiercely Protestant in their tone as the Montreal gatherings of 1885 had been French and Catholic in character. Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, Q. C., a leading lawyer and eminent pleader, a much respected and able man, championed the new principle of proposed Equal Rights, in speeches of force and considerable weight. Finally, after much political perturbation, action was taken in the House of Commons by a Resolution presented on March 26th by Lieutenant-Colonel William E. O'Brien. It was not yet known what the Opposition would do, nor was the strength of the extreme Protestant feeling in the House quite understood. It was pretty clear, however, that Mr. McCarthy, who was the real leader of the movement, could hardly get enough followers to defeat the Government, in coalition with the Liberals, unless the French Conservative members should refrain from voting altogether. The motion was a strong one, and very cleverly phrased in the following words:

"That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor-General setting forth: (1.) That this House regards the power of disallowing the Acts of the Legislative Assemblies of the Provinces, vested in His Excellency-in-Council, as a prerogative essential to the national existence of the Dominion; (2.) That this great power, while it should never be wantonly exercised, should be fearlessly used for the protection of the rights of a minority, for the preservation of the fundamental principles of the Constitution, and for safeguarding the general interests of the people; (3.) That in the opinion of this House the passage by the Legislature of the Province of Quebec of the Act entitled 'An Act respecting the settlement of the Jesuits Estates' is beyond the power of that Legislature. First, because it endows from public funds a religious organization, thereby violating the undoubted constitutional principle of the complete separation of Church and State. Secondly, because it recognizes the usurpation of a right by foreign authority, namely, His Holiness the Pope of Rome, to claim that his consent was necessary to empower the Provincial Legislature to dispose of a portion of the public domain, and, also, because the Act is made to depend upon the will, and the appropriation of the grant thereby made as subject to the control of the same authority. And, thirdly, because the endowment of the Society of Jesus, an alien, secret and politico-religious body, the expulsion of which from every Christian community

wherein it has had footing has been rendered necessary by its intolerant and mischievous intermeddling with the functions of civil government, is fraught with danger to the civil and religious liberties of the people of Canada. And this House, therefore, prays that His Excellency will be graciously pleased to disallow the said Act."

This lengthy indictment of the Act and criticism of the position assumed by the Government is given in full here because it sums up succinctly and clearly the case presented in many speeches upon a myriad platforms during the succeeding year. It was skilfully worded, and intended to obtain support from all who believed in limiting Provincial powers of legislation; of all who disliked or dreaded Roman Catholicism; of all who shared in a popular Protestant aversion to the Papal temporal power and the extension of Jesuit influence. The debate which followed was a most interesting one from the amount of historical research that was in evidence, if for no other reason. The Jesuits were defended or denounced in every phrase of praise or execration which could be found in the pages of the past. Colonel O'Brien, Mr. J. C. Rykert, Mr. J. A. Barron, and Mr. C. C. Colby followed each other in speeches *pro* and *con*. Mr. Colby, himself a Protestant, presented a most interesting picture of the Roman Catholic Church as a political instrument of defence against dangerous elements existent in all countries to-day. "It recognizes," he declared, "the supremacy of authority; it teaches observance to law; it teaches respect for the good order and constituted authorities of society." He described it, very properly, as opposed to the spirit of infidelity, the spirit of anarchy, and the spirit which has no respect for existing institutions of any kind.

Mr. McCarthy followed in a clear and cutting arraignment of the Government and all concerned, in either passing or permitting such a measure. After him came Sir John Thompson (he had been knighted in 1888) in a speech which was as great in matter and form as his famous effort upon the Riel question. Other speakers followed, notably Mr. Laurier, Sir John Macdonald, and Sir Richard Cartwright, and then a division took place in which the motion was lost by

118 to 13. It had, of course, been known before this that the Opposition was going to vote with the Government, as a whole and in order to vindicate the cherished principle of Provincial rights under which they had fought various contests in the Provinces—especially Ontario and Manitoba—and which now proved a very pleasant and easy platform for both parties to stand upon. This division disposed of the matter so far as Parliament was concerned, though it only intensified discussion outside. Just as it had been impossible for a time to control the storm in Quebec over the execution of Riel, so it was now found impossible to check the agitation in Ontario over the passage of this Act and its allowance by the Federal authorities.

Various mass meetings were held, the little Parliamentary minority was designated the "Noble Thirteen," and, on June 12, 1889, at a Convention held in Toronto, the Equal Rights Association was formed. This body assumed that the Protestants of Quebec required safe-guarding and undertook to do that, as well as to resist the apparently growing encroachments of the Church of Rome. It had a number of influential officers, with D'Alton McCarthy as its Parliamentary leader, and a strong support from many very sincere and honest people throughout the Province. Among a different element there also arose the Protestant Protective Association or P. P. A., as an avowed and bitter antagonist of Roman Catholicism in private as well as public life. The Governor-General was petitioned by Mr. Hugh Graham, of Montreal, to refer the constitutionality of the Act to the Supreme Court of Canada for consideration, but this was refused by advice of the Minister of Justice, whose reasons were given at length in an able State paper which was published in August. Petitions were also presented asking for disallowance—the one from Ontario containing 156,000 signatures and one from Quebec having 9,000 names signed to it.

On August 2d a deputation had waited upon the Governor-General bearing these petitions and asking him to exercise his personal prerogative by disallowing the legislation in

question. Lord Stanley of Preston listened attentively to the arguments of Principal Caven and others. His reply amounted to the simple statement that he could not and would not veto a measure in the face of his own Ministry and of a large Parliamentary majority comprising the bulk of both parties in the Dominion.

FINAL ADJUSTMENT OF THE QUESTION

Shortly after this the Protestant Committee of the Quebec Council of Public Instruction showed their appreciation of the value of money, or their lack of appreciation for the current agitation, by accepting in the name of the Protestants of the Province the public trust imposed upon them for the distribution or use of the $60,000 granted under the terms of the famous measure. Certain conditions were made, however, which Mr. Mercier accepted without hesitation, and, on November 5th, the closing scene in an interesting political drama occurred in the City of Quebec. There, in presence of a large gathering of representative men, the $400,000 was handed over in the manner previously decided upon. A check for $100,000 was given to the Society of Jesus, $40,000 went to Laval University, and the rest was divided in sums of $10,000 and $20,000 among certain interested Dioceses. The Protestant educational authorities also received their check.

Nothing now remained for the Equal Rights party but political revenge, and, under McCarthy's leadership, they sought it in the House of Commons by a motion against the using of an official dual language in Manitoba or the North-West Territories and by a Resolution advocating the proposed submission of the constitutional issue to the Supreme Court. In Ontario, an agitation was raised against the extension of the Separate School system under the Provincial Government of Mr. Mowat, and later on the mutterings of the Manitoba School question began to be heard. With the rapid subsidence of sectarian sentiment, however, the movement gradually collapsed, and the success of the Conservative

party in the Dominion elections of 1891 and of the Liberal party in the Ontario elections of 1890 practically killed the Equal Rights Association. An important result remained in the continued alienation of Mr. McCarthy from the Conservative party in which he had once been so active a leader and prominent figure.

To the Protestant sentiment of Canada vengeance was, however, given in a very real, though very indirect, form by the fall of Mr. Mercier in December, 1891. This extraordinary man had spent his few years of political triumph reveling in every splendor and pleasure that success could give. He had visited Rome, been received with open arms by the Papal authorities, and decorated with an Order of Knighthood and the title of Count. He had come back to the Province to participate in public appearances in which the popularity of his reception was only equaled by the many-colored magnificence of his new uniforms. He had lived in a manner which indicated the possession of present, or potential, millions. Then came whispers of political corruption; of a "toll" taken by his Government upon financial transactions. Finally, the Baie des Chaleurs Railway scandal was laid bare, proof was produced that his Government, or himself, had received $100,000 for the letting of the contract, and a Royal Commission by majority report declared him guilty of corruption on this and other points. Lieutenant-Governor A. R. Angers promptly dismissed him from office. De Boucherville became Premier, and in the elections which followed swept the Province once more for the Conservative party. All Mercier's undoubted eloquence and personal popularity failed to affect the verdict, to retain himself in the actual lead of his party, or to rehabilitate his personal reputation. A few years later this most brilliant and, in many ways, likeable man died in poverty and practical retirement.

CHAPTER XXV

TRADE AND TARIFFS AND UNRESTRICTED RECIPROCITY

DURING the years immediately following the adoption of the National Policy by Parliament in 1879 there could be little doubt as to popular approval of the tariff, while the elections of 1882 and 1887—though in the latter case other issues arose—seemed to still further stamp its strength upon the public mind. Trade had expanded immensely, then shrunk a little, then grown again until in 1891 it was $218,000,000. Railways had increased in mileage from six to thirteen thousand, and in traffic from eight to twenty-one million tons. Business failures had decreased by one-half, or over fourteen millions of dollars, while deposits in the chartered and savings banks had risen from $78,000,000 to $192,000,000 and the revenue had increased sixteen millions in amount. The tariff averaged, meanwhile, thirty-five per cent, or about half that of the American Republic. There could be no doubt, also, of the increase in many lines of industry and the steady growth of factories and accumulation of savings among the poorer classes.

POSITION OF THE PARTIES

But all was not quite as it should be and there were, naturally, shadows thrown even by the sunshine of success. To the Opposition, standing out in the cold during year after year and through election after election, these shadows darkened until they covered the sun and the skies and made the Liberal party feel that some very severe measures were required to cauterize the growing ills of the fiscal, political, and social system. There were certainly some just grounds for pessimism on the part of the Opposition just as there were excellent reasons for confidence and optimism in the

mind of the Government party. The exodus of Canadians to the United States had continued and come in the course of years to number hundreds of thousands of enterprising and energetic young men.

The population of the country had not increased very rapidly—only some 500,000 in the years between 1881 and 1891. The public debt had grown largely under the policy of heavy expenditure made necessary by the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the deepening of the canals. The farmers were suffering greatly from the effect of the McKinley tariff legislation of 1890 and at least one important agricultural industry—the production of barley—had been practically ruined. The reciprocity in tariffs which Sir John Macdonald had promised in 1878 would compel reciprocity in trade had not yet succeeded in that aim and the farmers were said to be pining for the great American market of 60,000,000. The times were not as good as they had been and the shadow of the coming financial crisis of 1893 was, perhaps unconsciously, being felt by people in Canada as well as elsewhere. Corruption was alleged to be rampant; monopoly was said to be triumphant in the persons of the protected manufacturers; and the net effect of the tariff was declared to be a robbery of the consumers and the country.

To this extreme view Conservatives opposed the fact of the distinct progress visible in Canada as a whole, the redundancy of revenue, the policy of railway expansion, the expenditure of $125,000,000 upon necessary public works in a dozen years of power, the increased industrial employ of labor, the protection of the home market for the home producer, the rise in national credit, the enhanced prestige of Canada abroad, the development of Manitoba and the North-West. Meanwhile, in the years between 1878 and 1891, the Liberal policy had not been stationary. Its mutations in fact had been many. During the time of the Mackenzie régime the Premier and Sir Richard Cartwright had maintained a policy of tariff for revenue only. During the years which

followed 1878 the latter had stood by these political guns and had shotted them with the hottest of invective against all forms of protection and, especially, against manufacturers clamoring for fiscal aid as being little less than "thieves and robbers." In 1876, Laurier, Charlton, Joly, Paterson, and other future Liberal leaders appear from their speeches to have been inclined toward moderate protective duties. But they stood by their party for the time and nothing came of the not very vigorously expressed opinions in this direction.

CHANGES IN LIBERAL TARIFF POLICY

In 1882 Mr. Edward Blake, then Leader of the Opposition, declared himself as still opposed in principle to protection but as recognizing that "we are obliged to raise yearly a great sum mainly by import duties laid to a great extent on goods similar to those which can be manufactured here; and it results as a necessary incident of our settled fiscal system that there must be a large and, as I believe, in the view of moderate protectionists, an ample advantage to the home manufacturer." *

Sir Richard Cartwright and other leaders, however, continued to denounce protection, and neither the manufacturers nor the public seemed to think Mr. Blake's position strong enough, or his views clear enough, to warrant confidence in the existing fiscal policy being reasonably conserved under his auspices. In 1887, therefore, he determined to make the situation better for himself and his party by a practical declaration that the National Policy would be maintained if they were returned to power. At Malvern, on January 22d, in a speech which formed the keynote of the ensuing campaign, he explained that his opinions of 1882 had grown in force with every passing year, and that the additions to the public debt, the increase in the annual charges, the deficits between revenue and expenditure, had made even the moderate readjustment of the tariff which he had then proposed impracticable. "It is clearer than ever that a very high scale

* Address to the Electors of West Durham, dated May 22, 1882.

of taxation must be retained and that manufacturers have nothing to fear." And then he proclaimed his programme to be a fiscal readjustment which should be directed "to such reductions of expenditure as may allow a reduction of taxation; to the lightening of taxes upon the prime necessaries of life and upon the raw material of manufactures; to a more equitable arrangement of the taxes which now bear unfairly upon the poor as compared with the rich; to a taxation of luxuries just so high as will not thwart our object by greatly checking consumption; to the curbing of monopolies of production in cases when, by combination or otherwise, the tariff allows an undue or exorbitant profit to be exacted from the consumers; to the effort—a most important point—to promote reciprocal trade with our neighbors to the south."

Still, the electorate remained obdurate. The people did not care, apparently, to intrust the administration of a protective tariff to leaders who had always been bitterly opposed to the principle—even though they now acknowledged a change of conditions and a modification of policy. The second failure, however, to carry the country bitterly disappointed the Opposition. They had fully expected to capture the people upon the combined issue of Riel's execution—in Quebec—and an acceptance of the moderate protective policy —in Ontario. Fate had decreed now otherwise, and in the autumn of 1887, after Mr. Blake had disappeared from the leadership and Mr. Laurier had done a little coquetting with the new Imperial preferential idea at Somerset, Quebec, Sir Richard Cartwright declared boldly in a speech at Ingersoll, on October 17th, for a clear-cut policy of reciprocity with the United States in agricultural and industrial products. Free trade with the American Republic was to be the new policy, the path to power, the road to a great 60,000,000 market, the way to wealth for the farmer, the miner, and the fisherman.

It was a courageous programme, proposed by a man who never lacked courage during a long political career, or words of biting force and sarcasm with which to express his mean-

ing. He once more threw down the gauntlet to the protectionist. He proclaimed, and very truly, the impossibility of obtaining a limited reciprocity in agricultural products only. He declared his willingness, if it should be necessary, to discriminate against Great Britain in favor of American products. He described the American market as the one thing needful to produce general Canadian prosperity and unlimited expansion in trade and production. The policy was not altogether a new one, although the title "Unrestricted Reciprocity" was certainly original. Away back in 1870, on March 16th, Mr. L. S. Huntington, of subsequent Canadian Pacific contract fame, had moved a Resolution in the House of Commons in favor of a Continental trade system and customs union. Parliament promptly voted it down, and only now and then had the idea since been heard of in irresponsible quarters in Canada and the United States. Reciprocity, itself, was frequently advocated and promised, but speakers and writers were alike careful to limit and restrict it to agricultural products and those of the mine and the sea. In 1885, Mr. (afterward Sir) L. H. Davies had, indeed, moved for "additional reciprocal freedom in the trade relations of the two countries," but the phrase was a sufficiently vague one to mean anything.

THE UNRESTRICTED RECIPROCITY MOVEMENT

Now the plunge had been taken and a few days later rapid indorsement came in a unanimous Resolution of approval passed by the Inter-Provincial Conference which met at Quebec during the same month and year in which Sir Richard Cartwright made his speech at Ingersoll. It was attended by the Liberal Premiers of Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia—Messrs. Mercier, Mowat, Blair, and Fielding; by Mr. John Norquay, Premier of Manitoba—whose Dominion political opinions were vague, if not entirely absent; by other representatives of these Governments, including the Hon. A. S. Hardy, the Hon. G. W. Ross, the Hon. F. G. Marchand, and the Hon. J. W. Longley. The

Conference passed various legitimate motions calculated to embarrass the Federal Government, and among other things declared its desire to record "the opinion that Unrestricted Reciprocity would be of advantage to all the Provinces of the Dominion" and its belief that such a policy would improve relations with the United States without affecting Canadian loyalty toward British connection. This shows a pretty rapid acceptance of the new policy.

Strong help came, also, in the way of speeches and pamphlets and articles in newspapers from Dr. Goldwin Smith, Mr. Erastus Wiman, Mr. Valancy E. Fuller, and Mr. J. W. Longley, of Nova Scotia. It is questionable how far Dr. Goldwin Smith was really serviceable to the movement. His reputation for holding annexationist sentiments was a pronounced one and he did not now hesitate to declare publicly that Unrestricted Reciprocity meant the acceptance of the American tariff against the world—including the British Empire—and that it was really synonymous with the Commercial Union which was being advocated in the United States. Mr. Wiman was a better and more useful supporter. He was at this time an eminently successful business man in New York, apparently proud of his brithright as a Canadian, kind and helpful to every one from his native land, in control of one of the great telegraph lines of the Dominion and very ambitious to be a successful public leader. During the next four years Sir R. Cartwright, Mr. Longley, Liberal Attorney-General of Nova Scotia, Mr. Wiman, and Dr. Goldwin Smith fought vigorously and spoke frequently for the new policy. They had also for some time and through the ensuing elections, the powerful aid of the Toronto "Mail"—which had been steadily drawing away from Sir John Macdonald ever since the days of the Jesuits Estates agitation and did not return to its Conservative allegiance for several years after this time.

Gradually, the Liberal party swung into line behind its leaders in support of freer trade "with the continent to which we belong," as Mr. Wiman unfortunately phrased it. The support was given in varying degrees and under differing

names for the policy itself, while the attacks upon protection developed renewed strength and were used as collateral to an aggressive campaign in favor of the American trade idea. Sir Richard Cartwright, on March 14, 1888, moved in the House of Commons the following Resolution:

"That it is highly desirable that the largest possible freedom of commercial intercourse should obtain between the Dominion of Canada and the United States, and that it is expedient that all articles manufactured in, or the natural products of either of the said countries, should be admitted free of duty into the ports of the other—articles subject to duties of excise or of internal revenue alone excepted. That it is further expedient that the Government of the Dominion should take steps at an early date to ascertain on what terms and conditions arrangements can be effected with the United States for the purpose of securing full and unrestricted reciprocity of trade therewith."

This explicitly defined the new stand of the Opposition and precipitated an issue which the Government met with an amendment proposed by Mr. George E. Foster, Minister of Finance, and couched in equally clear and explicit terms: "That Canada in the future, as in the past, is desirous of cultivating and extending trade relations with the United States so far as they may not conflict with the policy of fostering the various industries and interests of the Dominion which was adopted in 1879 and which has since received, in so marked a manner, the sanction and approval of the people." The amendment was duly carried, after prolonged discussion, and upon a party division of 124 to 67. Later in the Session a similar Resolution to that of Sir Richard was moved by Mr. A. G. Jones—afterward Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia—and defeated; while in the succeeding year, on March 5th, Sir Richard Cartwright took advantage of favorable Commercial Union motions having passed the House of Representatives at Washington to again urge that steps be taken "for the purpose of securing full and unrestricted reciprocity of trade" with the Republic.

Meanwhile, recognizing clearly, though not publicly, the difficulty of negotiating trade treaties, or making any commercial arrangement with the United States which would involve a preference against Great Britain through British

plenipotentiaries, the Liberal leaders were urging and advocating the Colonial right to negotiate independently of Imperial authorities. On February 18, 1889, Sir Richard Cartwright embodied this collateral policy, or branch of the general party policy, in a motion which he presented to the House of Commons and which declared that "the Government and Parliament of Canada should acquire the power of negotiating commercial treaties with foreign States," and should be enabled, by Imperial permission, "to enter into direct communication with any foreign State for the purpose of negotiating commercial arrangements."

Such was the general issue before the people when the elections of 1891 were fought. There is no doubt that the Government, in the years between 1887 and 1891 underestimated the progress of this movement and the growing strength of a free-trade feeling in the country which had been fostered by the growth of commercial depression, by the continuous propaganda of the now active and fighting Opposition, and by a strong belief among the farmers that protection had not been as beneficial to them as it should have been and that they might, perhaps, be helped by trying the new policy. Sir John Macdonald saw clearly enough the American tendencies of the movement and the inevitable toboggan slide toward annexation and away from Britain which would be created by any system of Continental commercial union; and he appears at first to have thought that the mass of the people could see them as clearly as he did. Fortunately, a number of men unconnected with, or indifferent to, party affiliations recognized the danger of allowing things to drift and the history of the Imperial Federation League in Canada during these years is an active record of strong, steady opposition, in a stream of pamphlet and leaflet literature and by a continuous succession of public meetings, to anything savoring of anti-British fiscal legislation. The League and its leaders did more than this. They provided an alternative policy, a better principle, and urged strenuously the new idea of a closer commercial relationship with the Motherland.

THE ELECTIONS OF 1891

The situation, however, was a sufficiently serious one when Sir John Macdonald, early in 1891, decided to appeal to the country. He had been roused to the necessity of doing something in the preceding year, and no occurrence in his career better illustrates the natural tact and political *finesse* of the veteran leader than the negotiations into which he had entered, in December, 1890, with the United States. There is little reason to suppose that he really expected success at a time when the Canadian Opposition was announcing its willingness to go much further in trade concessions than he would, or could, dream of doing, and when the United States leaders were pretty well known to be in favor of a complete commercial union between the two countries while opposed —as they had been since 1866—to any ordinary modification, or renewal, of the old Reciprocity Treaty. However, it was an exceedingly clever political stroke which followed the announcement of the dissolution of Parliament, on February 3, 1891, with the publication of a despatch sent by the Governor-General to the Colonial Secretary on the preceding 13th of December, and which outlined the terms of certain negotiations into which his Ministers desired to enter with the American Government. It was proposed that a joint Commission, similar to that of 1871, should be formed with power to deal with the following questions:

1. Renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854-66 with necessary modifications.

2. Reconsideration of the Fishery Treaty of 1888, which had been rejected by the United States Senate, with a view to reciprocity in fish and in the privileges of buying bait, transshipment of fish, etc.

3. Protection of mackerel and other fisheries on the Atlantic Coast and in the inland waters of the country.

4. Relaxation of the seaboard coasting laws of the Dominion and the Republic, and also of those in force on the Great Lakes.

5. Mutual salvage and saving of wrecked vessels.

6. Arrangements for settling the boundary between Alaska and Canada.

The indignation of the Opposition at this announcement showed its importance. Everything that could be done to minimize its value was done, however, even to the publication of a letter signed by Mr. James G. Blaine, the United States Secretary of State, declaring that only the very widest form of Reciprocity—the Opposition policy in fact—would be considered by the American Government. To some extent the effort was successful, and, seeing that it was necessary to stimulate the sentiment of his own party and to rally around him an element which had become dissatisfied with the Liberal policy and its tendencies, Sir John Macdonald, for the first and last time in his career, issued a political Manifesto. It was published on February 8th, and contained the most stirring appeal to British sentiment and Canadian loyalty which has been addressed, since the days of Brock, to the people of British America.

He declared the policy of the Conservative party to be one of fostering the resources of Canada by every possible means consistent with its position "as an integral portion of the British Empire." He denounced the Opposition policy of free trade with the United States as involving "among other grave evils, discrimination against the Mother-country"; and expressed his earnest belief that it would in that event "inevitably result in annexation to the United States." He gave strong reasons for believing that the loss of revenue from American goods under such a policy would involve direct taxation of the people to the figure of at least $7,000,000. He declared that in consequence of the Canadian tariff against other countries having to be the same as that of the United States, in order to prevent the wholesale importation of goods by way of Canada under its existent lower grade of duties, the proposed policy meant the practical control of the Canadian tariff at Washington. He appealed in ringing words to the loyalty of the people to past affiliations and traditions, to

British institutions and ideals, to the affection for the throne and the flag of Empire and liberty. He concluded an Address which deserves a high place for its literary excellence, as well as for its historical significance, with a paragraph marked by pathos as well as patriotism:

"A British subject I was born—a British subject I will die. With my utmost strength, with my latest breath, will I oppose the 'veiled treason' which attempts by sordid means and mercenary proffers to lure our people from their allegiance. During my long public service of nearly half a century I have been true to my country and its best interests, and I appeal with equal confidence to the men who have trusted me in the past and to the young hope of the country with whom rest its destinies in the future, to give me their united and strenuous aid in this my last effort for the unity of the Empire and the preservation of our commercial and political freedom."

The Manifesto had an instant effect upon the situation, and the declaration of being born and intending to die a British subject rang through the community like a slogan of war. "The old man, the old flag, and the old policy" became the party war-cry, and echoed from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the backwoods of Nova Scotia to the prairies of the West.

Mr. Wilfrid Laurier, as the leader of the Liberal party, although Sir. R. Cartwright had been the leader in the Reciprocity agitation from the first, promptly answered Sir John's Manifesto with an Address to the people of Canada, which was issued on February 12th. In it he denounced the premature dissolution of Parliament as being intended to stampede the public into a hasty and unconsidered verdict; declared the existing Franchise Act a measure of gross injustice and calculated insufficiency; arraigned the National Policy as injurious to the farmer and a failure in stopping the migration of people to the States, or in promoting individual employment and better wages; proclaimed his personal and party loyalty to the Crown and to British connection; expressed the belief that, under the proposed reform of "absolute reciprocal freedom of trade between Canada and the United States," direct taxation would be unnecessary and an assimilation of tariffs not inevitable. Upon the all-impor-

tant point of discrimination against Great Britain, under free trade with the United States, and the Conservative statement that it was involved by the very nature of things, he submitted a simple denial and the following significant but vague statement:

"It can not be expected, it were folly to expect, that the interests of a Colony should always be identical with the interests of the Motherland. The day must come when, from no other cause than the development of national life in the Colony, there must be a clashing of interests with the Motherland, and, in any such case, much as I would regret the necessity, I would stand by my native land."

In the contest which followed, a keen and spirited interest was taken by the people, and, as its issues developed in Imperial and international importance, the press of the United Kingdom, of the far-away Australasian Colonies, and of the United States, made it a subject of critical comment and consideration. The result became more and more doubtful as the days progressed, and party calls from all parts of the Dominion came to Ottawa for the personal presence of Sir John Macdonald. His health was not good, he had reached an age when some measure of rest and relief from responsibility and active campaigning was necessary, and his physicians warned him that to take a prominent part in the battle could only be done at the risk of his life. But he could not resist the pressure of popular demand from within his party, the personal conviction of how much depended upon the result, the knowledge that it was now in grave doubt. He, therefore, threw himself with intense vigor into the campaign, and, from his standpoint, not a moment too soon.

The elements favorable to the Liberals consisted in the sentiment already worked up on behalf of a wide reciprocity with the United States; the depression among farmers caused by the McKinley Act; the influence of Mr. Laurier's persuasive eloquence and pleasing personality—especially among French Canadians; the dying, but still influential, efforts of the Equal Rights Association in Ontario; the powerful work done by Mr. Mercier, who was still Premier of Quebec, and who postponed an intended visit to Europe in order to retain

his place beside "my esteemed chief, M. Wilfrid Laurier," as he declared at a mass-meeting in Montreal on February 9th; the fact of sundry electoral scandals, implicating the Conservative party, having been made public during the last Session of Parliament; the constant and scarifying criticisms of Sir Richard Cartwright; the warm and hostile co-operation of nearly all the Provincial Premiers—including the pronounced influence of Mr. Oliver Mowat in Ontario, of Mr. Mercier in Quebec, of Mr. Greenway in Manitoba, of Mr. A. G. Blair of New Brunswick, and of Mr. W. S. Fielding in Nova Scotia.

The elements favorable to the Conservative party were, first and foremost, the magnetic, popular personality of their leader as he once more came into close touch with the people; the splendid support of Sir Charles Tupper, who had been called from England and his work as High Commissioner to help in this vital contest; the assistance of Sir John Thompson, with his deliberate and convincing oratory, and of Hon. George E. Foster, with his more effective and popular style; the publication of correspondence, verging on treason, which had passed between Mr. Edward Farrar, the one-time Editor of the Toronto "Mail," and at this particular moment an editorial writer on the Liberal organ—the Toronto "Globe"; the support given to the Opposition by Mr. Goldwin Smith, and the consequent increase of suspicion regarding the loyalty of their policy; the continued feeling of manufacturers in favor of protection and their natural fear of Unrestricted Reciprocity; the rapidly growing expression of a hitherto dormant but very real and strong loyalty to British connection in all parties and among all classes; the activity of a small band of Imperialists who were straining every nerve to develop antagonism to and fear of the Continental trade idea.

DEATH OF SIR JOHN MACDONALD

The result of the struggle was a victory for the Conservative chieftain and his Government by a majority of between

twenty and thirty. Two members of the Ministry were defeated, Mr. C. C. Colby and Mr. (afterward Sir) John Carling, and two leaders of the Opposition, Mr. A. G. Jones and Mr. Peter Mitchell. It was Sir John Macdonald's last political success. Against the earnest advice of his physicians, the veteran leader, now in his seventy-seventh year, had gone into the contest with an energy which seemed marvelous in one of his admittedly feeble frame. He had been everywhere urging on the struggle, putting life and soul into his supporters, arousing the enthusiasm of great audiences as only his magnetic personality could have done, soothing differences and smoothing away obstacles with his curious combination of tact and personal charm, giving to the campaign, in short, that swing of victory which was needed to overcome the many adverse circumstances of the moment. Without him the party would most certainly have been defeated, and, knowing this, he had fought one more battle for what he believed to be the fundamental principles of Canadian nationality and progress—British connection and loyalty to the close and honorable union of the Dominion and Empire.

His efforts in managing the campaign and addressing audiences almost daily for weeks—upon one occasion he spoke five times in the twenty-four hours—were too much for his physical strength and he came back to Ottawa to die. At first it was only reported that he needed rest, and then, after the meeting of Parliament at the end of April, he was said to be unwell. But the serious attack did not come until the 29th of May, although there had been premonitions in plenty. Then, in a moment, the paralytic seizure came and stilled the busy brain, numbed the marvelous faculties and silenced forever the voice which had so long been the voice of Canada. During the week of anxious waiting which followed political lines were obliterated and the people of Canada stood beside that sick-bed at Earnscliffe where the greatest of the builders of the Empire, the wisest of Canadian leaders, lay fighting a last silent struggle with the most powerful of all foes. Parliament had promptly adjourned, the Queen sent daily

cables of inquiry, the people began to understand what a great figure was passing away, the politicians commenced to tremble for the future of the party which he had led and made almost synonymous with himself. On June 6th Sir John passed away, and the mourning which followed throughout the Dominion was as remarkable in its intensity and personal note of pain as the scenes surrounding the state funeral of the late Premier from Ottawa to his burial place at Kingston were notable for their splendor. During immediately succeeding years monuments were erected to his memory at Toronto, Kingston, Ottawa, Hamilton, and Montreal, but it is historically safe to say that his most enduring memorial has since been found in the hearts of his fellow-countrymen.

RESULTS OF THE ELECTION

Politics were now in a turmoil. The late leader had been unable to suggest a successor during his last days, but the man who should, properly, have followed him in power was his lifelong friend and right-hand supporter—Sir Charles Tupper. His work for Confederation, his labors for Canadian Pacific Railway construction, his battles for the National Policy, his foremost place beside Sir John Macdonald in the fight against Unrestricted Reciprocity, all pointed him out as the legitimate leader of the party. But he was away in London again acting as High Commissioner; it was thought by many that he would not care for the position; he did not hold a seat in Parliament; and he made no sign himself concerning the matter. Hence different wings of the party nominated their favorites. Principal Grant urged Sir Charles Tupper, as did many others; Mr. Chapleau pressed the name, and justly praised the ability, of Sir John Thompson; "Le Monde" and other French journals urged the prolonged service of Sir Hector Langevin and the fact of his being the recognized leader of the party in Quebec; there was talk of Mr. (afterward Sir) W. R. Meredith, who for many years had led the Conservative Opposition in the Provincial Legislature of Ontario; there was a presentation of

the claims of Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, whose ability and Imperialistic views overshadowed the memory of his past differences with the party. Finally, it was announced that the Governor-General after a conference with Sir John Thompson and the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott—who had been Conservative leader in the Senate and was known as a man of wide constitutional knowledge and keen executive ability—had asked the latter to take the Premiership.

His Government was much the same in composition as the preceding one and it had no easy task before it. The corruptions and slanders inevitably surrounding an Administration fourteen years old were all met in an avalanche of charge and denunciation during the first Session of the leadership of Mr. (soon to be Sir John) Abbott in the Senate, and of Sir John Thompson in the Commons. Under it Sir Hector Langevin disappeared from public position; Sir Adolphe Caron had to fight for his political life; Mr. J. G. Haggart had to meet serious charges, as did Mr. J. A. Chapleau. It was the most arduous Session since Confederation and certainly the most unpleasant. It revealed the existence of carelessness in some of the Departments and of considerable corruption in public life, but it did not prove personal dishonesty or corruption against any of the Ministers. The Census of the Dominion had, meanwhile, been taken and had shown an increase of population from 3,686,000 in 1871 to 4,324,000 in 1881 and to 4,829,000 in 1891. A redistribution of seats and representation was, therefore, necessary, and in April of the succeeding year Sir John Thompson introduced a measure to this end which finally passed after bitter Opposition denunciation as being a gerrymander and "a plan for deliberately stifling the voice of the people."

Meantime, the aftermath of the political struggle of 1891 had come in two very important events. On the day following the general elections a long letter was published from the pen of Mr. Edward Blake as addressed to his constituents in West Durham some time before election day. It explained minutely, though not always clearly, his reasons for retiring

from public life at that juncture and declining their renomination for Parliament. It denounced the National Policy in great detail and in the severest terms and painted so dark a picture of the country, and its present and future position, as to make the document a veritable triumph of pessimism in thought and language. Then the writer turned to the subject of Unrestricted Reciprocity and declared that it would give the country the blessings of a measure of free trade greater than was otherwise attainable; would advance the Dominion's most material interests and its most natural and largest industries; would create an influx of capital and population and, in a word, give to the country its chiefest needs—men, money, and markets.

But it would, also, he declared, involve differential duties against the United Kingdom and the rest of the world; it would cause great gaps in the revenue and leave the country with an immense deficit which could only be met by direct taxes—and these he believed to be impossible under existing conditions of popular opinion; it would require "as to the bulk by agreement and as to much, from the necessity of the case, the substantial assimilation in their leading features, of the tariffs" of Canada and the United States; it must of necessity be a permanent arrangement in order to conserve financial credit and industrial interests, and this was impossible without a control of the Canadian tariff by the American Congress—in which the Dominion "would have much less influence in procuring or preventing changes than she would enjoy did she compose several States of the Union." He concluded an elaborate, able, and in parts logical presentation of the whole political issue in the late campaign with the following words:

"The tendency in Canada of unrestricted free trade with the States, high duties being maintained against the United Kingdom, would be toward political union; and the more successful the plan the stronger the tendency both by reason of the community of interest, the intermingling of populations, the more intimate business and social connections, and the trade and fiscal relations amounting to dependency which it would create with the States; and of the greater isolation and di-

vergency from Britain which it would produce; and also, and especially, through inconvenience experienced in the maintenance and apprehensions entertained as to the termination of the Treaty."

This deliverance came like a thunderbolt upon the Liberal party. Had it been published when written, and before election day, Sir John Macdonald would, probably, have had the largest majority in Canadian history. As it was, this presentation of the real issue in its naked shape shocked the inherent loyalty of Canadian Liberalism and opened the eyes of many an honest and honorable advocate of the policy which Sir John had so strenuously denounced in words deemed by his opponents to be the mere echo of partisan thoughts and fears. The practical result was seen in the by-elections which followed in 1892, from the unseating of a number of members, and in which the Conservatives swept everything before them with swinging majorities.

During this period a further and final incident in the history of this trade and fiscal movement took place. In pursuance of their pledges to the people at the elections the Canadian Government arranged, after many delays on the part of American authorities, for a Conference to discuss international relations. Messrs. James G. Blaine and J. W. Foster represented the United States, and Mr. Mackenzie Bowell, Sir John Thompson, and Mr. G. E. Foster the Dominion. After a prolonged discussion—February, 1892—upon trade and reciprocity matters, it was found impossible to come to any understanding. Mr. Blaine insisted absolutely upon the free admission into Canada of American manufactures, and declared that an arrangement could only be consummated "by making the tariff uniform for both countries and equalizing the Canadian tariff (against Great Britain, etc.) with that of the United States." The statements of the American negotiators were most explicit and are recorded in an official document* signed by the Canadian negotiators and indorsed by Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador at Wash-

* Canadian Sessional Papers, Volume 26th, Number 52, 1892.

ington, in the words: "I concur in the above Minute of Proceedings."

This was the end of the Unrestricted Reciprocity, or Commercial Union movement. The Liberal leaders turned to the safer paths of simple tariff denunciation and the advocacy of a generally freer trade. These were embodied in a Resolution presented to the Commons by Sir Richard Cartwright on February 16, 1893. During the succeeding year, on March 28th, the same leader once more presented a motion which, nominally, constituted the Liberal fiscal platform in the elections of 1896: "That the highest interests of Canada demand the adoption of a sound fiscal policy which, while not doing injustice to any class, will promote domestic and foreign trade and hasten the return of prosperity to our people; that, to that end, the tariff should be reduced to the needs of honest, economical, and efficient government, should have eliminated from it the principle of protection to particular industries at the expense of the community at large, and should be imposed for revenue only; that it should be so adjusted as to make free, or bear as lightly as possible upon, the necessaries of life and to promote freer trade with the whole world—particularly with Great Britain and the United States." The motions were, of course, defeated by party divisions, but they clearly indicated the gradually changing lines of policy.

On June 20, 1893, a Convention of Liberals had been held at Ottawa to define the position of the party and it had taken lines similar to those embodied in the above motion. The Resolutions passed declared that the tariff of the Dominion "should be based, not as it is now, upon the protective principle, but upon the requirements of the public service"; denounced the National Policy as having developed monopolies, trusts, and combinations, decreased the value of farm lands, oppressed the masses in favor of the few, checked immigration, driven people out of the country, and impeded commerce; proclaimed protection to be "radically unsound and unjust to the masses of the people"; declared the necessity of tariff

changes which should afford "substantial relief from the burdens under which the country labors." References were also made to the desirability of Reciprocity, the success of the old-time Treaty of 1864; and the belief of the party that a fair measure might still be obtained which should include "a well-considered list of manufactured articles." During the next three years, however, Reciprocity dropped largely out of Liberal advocacy, and in the elections of 1896, though the quotations given constituted the nominal policy of the Opposition, still less was heard of it and nothing at all of the unrestricted variety. Other issues had come up, and upon them the battle was fought, and this time won by Liberalism and Laurier.

In the succeeding four years of Liberal rule Reciprocity came to the front upon only one occasion. An effort was made to obtain some arrangement of this character during the meetings of the Joint High Commission which were held in Quebec and Washington in August, September, and October, 1898. It was a far-reaching Conference, however, and other issues which intervened finally terminated the proceedings without any definite decision being reached. So far as trade relations between Canada and the United States were concerned it was found by the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as it had been by that of Sir John Macdonald, that Reciprocity was not obtainable upon terms compatible with the honorable maintenance of Canada's place in the British Empire. A Commercial Union such as Mr. Blaine had proposed in 1892 was still possible as far as the Republic was concerned, but still impossible for any Canadian Government to consider. During 1898 a further stage in the development of the Dominion away from the United States and toward Great Britain was marked by the establishment of the Preferential tariff by which British goods were allowed admission at a rate of 25 per cent lower than foreign products. The general elections which took place on November 7, 1900, and resulted in the return of the Laurier Government to power, were fought with hardly a reference on either side to the once all-important Reciprocity idea and with a

tacit admission on both sides that a maintenance of the principle of protection was essential to the present state of Canadian development.

CHAPTER XXVI

MANITOBA AND THE SCHOOL QUESTION

THE story of Manitoba's progress during the years which succeeded the Fort Garry rising and the admission of the youthful Province into Confederation on July 15, 1870, is an oft-told tale to Canadians. The slow growth, at first, of the little town at the junction of the Red River and Assiniboine which took the place of the Fort around which such severe struggles against nature, and among men, had raged since the days of Selkirk; the coming of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the rapid rise of Winnipeg into a city of 40,000 people; the steady accretion of farmers in the vast and fertile prairies stretching away beyond the distant horizon; the phenomenal "boom," typical in its inception and progress of all western periods of expansion, which came to Manitoba in 1879 and 1880, and merged the solid investments of thousands of Ontario business men in fantastic land schemes and non-existent prairie villages of which surveys had often not been made; the reaction which followed and the slow but steady and substantial progress which, in time, came to the Province; these things are pretty well known to the people of to-day.

NOVEL CONDITIONS ON THE FRONTIER

Less clearly is the political condition of the country known, or the wild and free spirit, drawn from the experiences of a pioneer life which had not been brought into close touch with civilization, fully understood. The ox-cart, even now, touches the electric street car or the luxurious coach of the modern railway. The fringed and faded Indian rubs shoulder with the white farmer and the commercial traveler for

some Eastern firm. The unsettled and nomadic Half-breed hunter looks across the table of his hotel at the latest tourist from Piccadilly or habitué of Hyde Park. The forts of the Hudson's Bay Company still stand in occasional loneliness, but are more and more coming into contact with farm-houses of prosperous settlers, or face to face with the growing villages of an increasing population. The buffalo has gone, but his bones are yet picked up on the boundless prairie and sold by dirty-looking squaws on the clean platforms of a continental railway.

CHANGES IN MANITOBA

The white people of Manitoba have themselves greatly changed since the stormy days of 1870. The pioneer life of farmers who have drifted in by tens, and hundreds, and thousands, to till the rich and easy soil of the prairie has been one of inevitable hardship at times, and especially so in seasons of unseasonable frost, or occasional flood, or unwelcome drought. They have encountered serious discouragement from a severe climate, not at first understood, and they have often suffered from intense solitude and hard labor, while dangers from cold and storm have not been few. But all these things were really nothing to the perils of the French or Loyalist pioneers of Eastern Canada from wild animals or wilder Indians; and, whatever they may have been, the conditions have now been conquered and out of them has come a people delighting in the life of the prairie and the cold of its winters, loving the fresh and fragrant air of their healthful Province, instinct with western vigor and progressiveness, and pulsating with strong belief in its future progress.

Of a kind with the complexities of general development has been the political record of Manitoba and out of it came a problem which was destined to shake the parties and principles of Canadian public life to their very roots. For many years the local politics were of a purely parish nature, and government consisted in legislating for schools scattered over

a large area among isolated settlers, providing the beginnings of municipal life, practicing the forms of constitutionalism, and guarding the interests of the small though growing population of farmers. Alfred Boyd, M. A. Girard, H. J. H. Clarke, R. A. Davis, and John Norquay succeeded each other as Prime Minister. Then came the era of railway construction, the boon proffered by Eastern Canada to its Provincial sisters in the West. With the Canadian Pacific came also questions of monopoly, of the right to control competitive lines, of the necessity of competition and control of rates, of the location of branch lines and all the complications incident to a time of public expansion and the sudden growth of transportation interests. These problems have all been settled, or are now settling themselves, in one form or another. There has, at times, been friction between the Provincial Government and the Dominion authorities; but never violent trouble, except, perhaps, in the matter of the Red River Railway.

Three or four men have developed in the public life of the Province who may, in diverse ways, be described as remarkable characters. Archbishop Taché was a pioneer of religious progress, a man of intense missionary zeal, of strenuous labor for the cause of his Church, of wide and powerful public influence. From the day, in 1845, when he started by boat, or ox-team, for the far-away banks of the Red River, he traversed every part of the vast field of the North-West and in varied degrees of hardship and toil established Roman Catholicism as one of the chief religious features of the new country. He became a Bishop in 1850, received the higher honor in 1871, and died in 1894. With the public questions of the day in the growing Province he was closely associated, from the share he took as mediator in the Riel rising of 1870, and his place in the conflict and controversy created by the same irrepressible personage in 1885, to the forcible position assumed by him in the Manitoba School question of 1890.

Archbishop Machray has held a very similar place in the

pioneer history of the Church of England in the North-West from the time of his consecration, in 1865, to the present day. His intense personal energy and earnest piety have made a deep impression upon its people and denominational and educational progress. He has not, however, been nearly so striking a political figure as his great ecclesiastical and religious rival. A curious contrast to both these men was the Hon. John Norquay. A Half-breed by birth, he impressed his virile, forceful disposition upon the politics and progress of Manitoba, became its Prime Minister in what may be termed the growing time of Provincial youth, and remained in power from 1878 to 1887. His moderation of view won him respect and popularity, as a young man, in the troubles of 1869-70, and the same qualities served him well in later years; while his huge, uncouth frame and curious personality and strange manners made him a unique figure in general politics. After a brief interregnum filled by the Premiership of D. H. Harrison, he was succeeded, in 1888, by the Hon. Thomas Greenway—a farmer by profession, a Liberal in politics, and in no way remarkable personally, except for the fact that he held office from that time until the end of the century.

The extraordinary personal feature of his Administration, however, and the most unique product of Canadian western politics, was the Hon. Joseph Martin, who acted as Attorney-General from 1887 to 1891. A Radical in politics, he had a rough, uneducated personality, and was gifted with tremendous vigor in speech and pluck in action, combined with a perfect passion for political fighting. Absence of actual and defined principles made him, in practice, a demagogue; while his natural ability rendered him an acute antagonist and a useful, though untrustworthy, ally. After he had won an election for Greenway by the abolition of Separate Schools in Manitoba, and laid, incidentally, a line of dynamite for the destruction of the Conservative Government at Ottawa, he moved to British Columbia. There he served a short term of office as Attorney-General, suddenly resigned the position

and overthrew the Government he had belonged to, formed another, and, in 1900, was badly beaten at the polls. His career is of interest as revealing a type of politician which only Western communities in a crude state of development could create or tolerate. A much more attractive character was that of Sir John Christian Schultz. A pioneer in the fur trade, in the practice of medicine and in political development, he shared the ups and downs of Manitoba life to the uttermost and served several terms in the Dominion House of Commons, had held a place in the Senate, and had acted for seven years as the Lieutenant-Governor of his Province.

THE INFLATION OF 1880

The central incidents of modern Manitoba history are the "inflation" of 1880 and the School question. The former was a condition of affairs only possible in a very new country, during the prevalence of what are called good times, and through a sudden increase of land values arising from some such cause as the proposed construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Visions of a great and growing Province beyond anything that was reasonable and possible seemed, in 1880, to be born in a night out of long-continued indifference and ignorance. People who had known nothing of, and cared less for, the vast possibilities of the wheat-belt of the West seemed suddenly and fully conscious of its existence and of what might be done by the building of a railway through its fertile areas. Aladdin's lamp was to be as nothing in comparison with the effect of this factor in Provincial development. Population, wheat-fields, cities and towns, industries and wealth, presented themselves before the eyes of the investing public. The "boom" that followed was of a most distinctly American type. The price of building lots in Winnipeg rose above the value of land centrally located in Montreal or Toronto. All kinds of land schemes were floated in the other Provinces as well as in the local capital. Towns and cities grew up (on paper) as by magic, and thousands of people in Ontario, especially, sold solid securities and took

over all their little savings, or even mortgaged salaries and properties, in order to invest them in prairie village lots, of which a first survey had hardly been made.

The result was a natural and inevitable one. For a time everything prospered, and every kind of public enterprise went ahead. Population did increase a little, and money poured into the country for investment. Land values rose all over the southern part of the Province. But, in the autumn of 1882 the end came, the bubble of inflation broke, and millionaires in prospect found themselves paupers in fact. A great part of the small community became insolvent, the banks lost heavily, investors in Ontario and elsewhere suffered severely, and Manitoba was given a serious set-back. Then came the troubles of 1885, on the Saskatchewan, which reacted upon the Prairie Province in reputation and credit and helped further to hamper the progress of settlement. Gradually, however, these difficulties were overcome; steadily the richness of its soil and the qualities of its wheat made headway in the public mind of the Dominion; slowly and surely the completion of the Canadian Pacific promoted its prosperity by making the Province known abroad, by bringing in new settlers, by facilitating the transport of products, by bringing it into the arena of national interests and progress.

ORIGIN OF THE MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION

Then came the Manitoba School question. At first it was largely a Provincial issue. It soon developed, however, into a sort of Dominion irritant. Finally it became a political storm of the most pronounced seriousness, and one which threatened public peace as only a semi-religious question can do in a country such as Canada. There have been frequent struggles over sectarian education in the Provinces of British America. Prior to 1863, Ontario was torn with dissensions upon this point, and the Hon. George Brown had led a stormy agitation against Separate Roman Catholic Schools. Confederation settled the issue to some extent through a com-

promise, by which the Protestant minority in Quebec and the Catholic minority in Ontario were guaranteed a secure system of Separate Schools. It was reopened for a time, in the latter Province, by alleged new and increasing privileges to these schools at the hands of the Mowat Government, and, during some years, Mr. W. R. Meredith and Mr. D'Alton McCarthy took high ground in the matter. But the agitation came to nothing. In New Brunswick, the abolition of Separate Schools, not long after Confederation, raised a question which politicians wisely refused to make serious capital out of, and which the Courts finally disposed of by declaring the action legal.

In Manitoba the situation has been very different and the result much more important and interesting. The system in vogue there was not the same as elsewhere in Canada; the Province did not, in this respect, enter the Dominion upon the same terms as the older parts of the country; its circumstances and local conditions have changed more rapidly and completely than anywhere else. In 1870, when the country came into Confederation, its small population was about equally divided between Protestants and Catholics, and, as a large influx of French-Canadian settlers was then confidently expected, it was generally believed that this balance would be fairly well preserved. There is practically no question that the Red River people of that time and of the Catholic faith thought that their religious and educational customs—they could hardly be termed a system—would be conserved.

As a matter of fact, when authority was given to the new Legislature, by the Manitoba Act of 1870, to deal with education, it was done, as in all the Provinces, subject to the preservation of rights existing at the time of the Union; although no law, ordinance, or regulation was technically in force in the much-troubled Red River Settlement of the moment. The controversy of the future was to turn, therefore, upon how far the "practice" then prevalent was a privilege and right under the terms of Union. Archbishop Taché,

who was present at the birth of educational facilities in the North-West, and who for so long rocked the cradle of their early development, declared with emphasis at a later period that there had been, in 1870, a number of effective schools for children, and that some of these were regulated and controlled by his own Church, some by different Protestant denominations. The means required for the support of the Catholic portion of the schools were supplied partly by fees and partly out of Church funds. During this early period neither Catholics nor Protestants had interest in, or control over, any schools but those pertaining to their respective beliefs.

In 1871, shortly after joining the Dominion, a law was passed by the Manitoban Legislature which established an organized system of denominational education in what were called the common schools. By this Act, twelve electoral divisions, comprising in the main a Protestant population, were to be considered as constituting twelve Protestant school districts under the management of the Protestant Section of a Provincial Board of Education. Similarly, twelve districts, made up chiefly of a Roman Catholic population, were constituted an equal number of Catholic school districts, and were placed under the control of the Catholic Section of the Board of Education. Each school division raised the contribution required, in addition to the amount given from the public funds, in such manner as might be decided at its annual meeting. It was, at first and in some respects, an application of the Quebec system to a new Province. But the conditions were, of course, greatly different, and that difference increased radically as the Protestant part of the population grew in numbers. Modifications in the system were introduced in 1873 and 1876 suited to changed and changing conditions, but the general principle was still maintained. Nor did the system, as a whole, work badly or cause any serious friction, in these years, between the different religious elements of the people.

Some agitation had arisen in 1876 owing to the gradual

growth of villages and towns and the general increase of what might be termed, somewhat tentatively, an urban population. But it was settled by the amendments of that year which gave the school districts facilities for the issue of debentures and the erection of suitable buildings. The Provincial Board was also reconstituted in a satisfactory manner. For years after this time matters progressed without sectarian trouble until, in 1890, there were 628 Protestant schools and 91 Catholic schools in the Province—the Government grant still being divided proportionally between the two sections of the Education Board. Meanwhile, however, sectarian feeling had been growing in Quebec and Ontario and been fanned into a passing flame by the development in public life of such men of opposite and varied characteristics as Mercier and McCarthy, Laurier and Meredith. The ebb-tide of the Riel and Jesuits Estates questions reached Manitoba, the instinct of the demagogic politician seized the mind of Mr. Joseph Martin, and a favorable and popular moment was taken, in the Session of 1890, to abolish the existing Separate School system.

The principle of National and unsectarian schools is a most desirable one where it can be put in force without actual injustice to those who disagree with it. But the incidents surrounding this particular action of the Greenway-Martin Government were unpleasant and aggressive and the legislation itself assumed to the minority the aspect of a repudiation of Provincial and Dominion pledges. The protests of the Roman Catholic Church in Manitoba, however, and the energetic onslaughts of Archbishop Taché upon the Government, in a series of historical letters published in the Winnipeg "Free Press," were serious enough in their effect upon the Catholic population elsewhere in Canada to soon raise the question far above the local arena. At the same time the minority had not sufficient local strength to overcome the large Protestant majority or to prevent Mr. Greenway from obtaining a popular victory and endorsation in the ensuing elections of 1892.

Under the new Public School system the Board of Education was, of course, completely changed, and all school taxes, whether derived from Protestant or Catholic, were devoted to the maintenance of the schools of the Province without any religious distinction. The Provincial Cabinet became the Board of Education, assisted by an Advisory Board made up of four or six members appointed by the Government, two elected by the teachers of the Province, and one selected by the University of Manitoba. The Department, or Government, was to perform all Executive work in connection with education; the Advisory Board was really to be a Committee of experts controlling all matters of a technical nature, such as teachers' qualifications, text-books, standards of admission, and promotion in the schools, classification examinations, and the forms of religious exercise. Local districts, with trustees chosen by popular vote, were established. Upon the whole this system has since then worked well, the standard of education generally has advanced, the number of schools has increased to 1,018 in 1897, and the Provincial grant has risen to $190,000.

But to the Roman Catholics both the legislation and system were extremely obnoxious. They believed there, as in Quebec and Ontario, in sending their children to a school where religion was a first consideration, secular education a secondary matter. They objected to the Protestant religious exercises, no matter how deleted they might be, and wanted schools of their own. These they proceeded to maintain by private contributions and despite the fact of having to pay double educational taxes. Naturally, the question was soon being widely discussed and considered in other Provinces where Catholics also had rights and privileges which they believed to be guaranteed by the pact of Confederation.

THE SCHOOL ACT IN DOMINION POLITICS

The first step taken in the matter, in a Dominion sense, was a strenuous effort to obtain the disallowance of the Act as an infringement of the rights of a Provincial minority.

A petition, dated March 6, 1891, was presented to the Federal Government signed by the Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of the Dominion and declaring that the Manitoba School Act—and the subsidiary measure abolishing dual language privileges in the same Legislature—were "contrary to the dearest interests" of a large portion of the Queen's loyal subjects; contrary to "the assurances given during the negotiations" which determined the entry of the Province of Manitoba into Confederation; contrary to the terms of the British North America and Manitoba Act; contrary to the principles of public good faith.

A little later, on April 4th, the French press of Quebec published a pastoral letter issued by Cardinal Taschereau and the hierarchy of the Province and which had been read in all the Catholic churches. It declared that the legislation in question would "destroy the faith of the Catholic children" of Manitoba and would "despoil the Church of her sacred rights." It urged once more "the control of the Church over the education of Catholic children" in the schools, and called upon all Catholics "to pray and to work for justice." Following, however, the precedent which they had set themselves in the Jesuits Estates case, the Government resisted this religious pressure, and the even more potent political pressure which was a natural accompaniment, refused to interfere with the Provincial legislation in the matter and allowed the two measures to go into operation. In connection with the School Act, Sir John Thompson, as Minister of Justice, submitted a Report to the Government advising the allowance of the measure in due course. It was dated March 21, 1891, and afterward became the cause of keen controversy and important results. He reviewed the powers of the Provincial Legislature and declared that the matter should be left to the Courts. If, finally, the minority in Manitoba were worsted in the legal warfare the time might come for the Dominion Government to interfere under the terms of that portion of Section 22 of the Manitoba Act which declares that "an appeal shall be to the Governor-General-in-Council

from any Act or decision of the Legislature of the Province, or of any Provisional authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects, in relation to education. Parliament may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this Section and of any decision of the Governor-General-in-Council."

Meanwhile, local efforts along the legal line had been strenuous. An appeal was early entered in the Manitoba Courts by Mr. J. K. Barrett, on behalf of the Catholic ratepayers of Winnipeg, against two City by-laws which imposed a rate of taxation upon men of all religious faiths for the support of the public schools. In this test case it was claimed that the old law was still in force owing to the new one being unconstitutional and because of the 22d Section of the Manitoba Act, under which the Province entered the Dominion, and which declares that "nothing in any such law (Provincial) shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law or practice in the Provinces at the Union." The Manitoba Government maintained, as against this plea, that a Separate School system was not really in existence at that time and that, therefore, the Roman Catholic minority possessed no guarantee whatever. On February 22, 1891, the Court of Queen's Bench of the Province sustained the validity of the Act, three Judges being favorable and one opposed—the latter a French Canadian and Catholic. Appeal was at once taken to the Supreme Court of Canada, and, in October following, judgment was given by that body declaring the Act *ultra vires,* allowing the appeal and quashing the City by-laws. The decision was unanimous, and Chief Justice Sir William Ritchie, in presenting it, held that the Act of Union prohibited the abolition of Separate Schools by Provincial Legislatures.

There was, of course, much excitement in Winnipeg over the result and the Greenway Government at once announced its intention of carrying the case to the Judicial Committee

of the Imperial Privy Council. Late in July, 1892, the decision of the highest Court of Appeal in the Empire was duly rendered. It upheld the Manitoba Courts, declared the legality of the Act of 1890, and removed the judgment of the Canadian Supreme Court. An agitation immediately began for an appeal to the Government for remedial legislation and Dominion interference. This was the actual commencement of the storm which was to rage during four years and to eventually shatter the Conservative Government at Ottawa between the two rival forces of Catholic and Protestant sentiment. Sir John Thompson's Report of 1891 became the centre of intense discussion, and Section 22 of the Manitoba Act a subject of Dominion policy and politics. Strong language was used on both sides in connection with the possibility of the Government at Ottawa interfering in the matter. The Liberal organs and speakers in Ontario demanded respect for Provincial rights and proclaimed Sir John Thompson a slave to the interests and influence of his Church. The Toronto "Mail," while still a nominally independent paper —though bitterly opposed to the Conservative Government in reality—declared that "the tribunal of last resort has pronounced Manitoba free; and free that Province shall be if the English population has any voice in the Government of this country." Mr. Mercier, who was still striving to regain his lost place and power in Quebec, tried to inflame religious sentiment for his own ends, and, at Montreal, on February 23, 1893, urged the people of the Province to "put aside all the divisions and hatreds of the past and join in a fraternal union of 2,000,000 of French Canadians against the oppression of the other Provinces."

While all these sounds of strife were in the air the Government had appointed a Sub-Committee of their own members, composed of Sir John Thompson, the Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, and the Hon. J. A. Chapleau, to hear the appeals from the Manitoba minority and to listen to Mr. J. S. Ewart, Q. C., of Winnipeg, on behalf of the petitioners. Mr. Ewart and Mr. D'Alton McCarthy presented the opposite sides of

the case with a good deal of strength and skill, and, on January 6, 1893, the Sub-Committee submitted a synopsis of the discussion to the Dominion Government and recommended that another hearing should be given in which the Manitoba Cabinet might be represented. The latter Government refused, however, to consider the question as in any way an open one, or to send any representative. The Report also indicated certain points for consideration in the question as to whether the Governor-General-in-Council really had the power to grant remedial legislation under existing conditions and these subjects were subsequently brought before the Supreme Court of Canada in the form of six questions of a constitutional character.

They were dealt with on February 26, 1894, by a judgment of interpretation which held that the Roman Catholic minority had no ground upon which to solicit Dominion legislation. The Court stood three to two upon the question, and, curiously enough, Mr. Justice King, who, as Premier of New Brunswick, had many years before been instrumental in abolishing the Separate Schools of that Province, supported the Catholic contention, while Mr. Justice Taschereau, a French Canadian, opposed the claims of his own co-religionists. From this decision an appeal was taken to the Imperial Privy Council, and, in January, 1895, a decision was announced declaring that the Dominion Government, under the Confederation Act, possessed the right to grant the remedial legislation which had been described as constitutional and possible in the Report of the Minister of Justice in 1891.

That distinguished lawyer and statesman had, meanwhile, become Premier of Canada in December, 1892, and had died suddenly and tragically, at Windsor Castle, in December, 1894. Sir Mackenzie Bowell ruled in his place, and there was much trouble and perplexity in the Government upon the School Question. Parliament and the press were also vigorously discussing the question and the possible results of the coming decision. An interesting debate had taken

place in the House on March 6, 1893, when this second reference to the Privy Council was announced and Mr. J. Israel Tarte had proposed a motion disapproving the action of the Government. Sir John Thompson, in an able and elaborate speech, defended the policy from a constitutional standpoint, and Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, who represented, probably, at this time a very large body of public opinion, answered the Minister with force and vigor. He denounced the Government for its delay in settling a vexed question. The decision one way or the other was vital. "It was whether the Province of Manitoba, with a population of 150,000, of whom not more than 20,000 were Roman Catholics, was to have imposed upon it against its will a Separate School system." Mr. Wilfrid Laurier, in the course of a denunciatory speech along general lines, made some remarks which afford interesting reading a few years later and were uttered in connection with the charge that the limited religious teaching in the schools of Manitoba made them really Protestant schools. "If," said he, "this be indeed true; if under the guise of public schools the Protestant schools are being continued and Roman Catholic children are being forced to attend these Protestant schools; I say, and let my words be heard by friends and foes over the length and breadth of the land, the strongest case has been made out for interference, and the Roman Catholics of Manitoba have been put to the most infamous treatment." A little later, however, when the genial Liberal leader visited the Prairie Province he refused to say definitely whether this supposition was a fact or not.

CABINET CRISIS AND THE REMEDIAL ORDER

From the day in January, 1895, when the judgment of the Imperial Privy Council was received at Ottawa, events moved rapidly, the political sky became more and more stormy, the controversy more critical in its various aspects—constitutional, sectarian, and partisan. The issue was one which had become so difficult to handle that only a great statesman such as Sir John Macdonald could have evolved anything like

peace out of the chaos of conflict which had now developed. And even the greatest ability and mental force might have been useless without the tact and *savoir faire* which Sir John had possessed in such a pronounced degree. There were men of high ability in the Cabinet, but they did not possess the combination of qualities required, and the disorganization grew steadily greater. They were also opposed, in the person of Mr. Laurier, by a man whose charm of manner and grace of bearing constituted a character of growing influence, and one in which ability and tact were combined to a degree unequaled since the days of Sir John Macdonald himself. Meanwhile, the French-Canadian members of the Cabinet wanted remedial legislation and many of the English members disapproved of it. The result of the difference was so pronounced as to soon become public property in all kinds of distorted forms. Finally, in March, 1895, it was decided to unite upon what was termed a Remedial Order. This document commanded the Provincial Government, under the terms of the constitution and in accordance with the decision of the Privy Council, to remedy the just grievances of the minority in Manitoba and to restore any educational rights and privileges which may have been taken away from them—under pain of Dominion legislation to the same end.

At the same time as this Order was issued Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, Minister of Justice, urged the bringing on of the general elections immediately and there is every probability that if this course had been pursued the party disaster of 1896 would not have occurred. His advice was not followed, and a somewhat hasty resignation of his office, as a consequence, was not accepted. Manitoba absolutely refused to obey the Remedial Order, and early in July a Cabinet crisis occurred. Messrs. J. A. Ouimet and A. R. Angers, with Sir Adolphe Caron, resigned office. For a few days all was confusion, and then Mr. George E. Foster, who was acting as leader in the Commons—Sir M. Bowell being the leader in the Senate—announced on the 9th of the month that Mr. Ouimet and Sir A. P. Caron had withdrawn

their resignations; that immediate communication would be entered into with the Manitoba Government with a view to effecting some settlement, and that if no satisfactory result could be reached the House would be asked in the ensuing January to legislate along the lines of the Remedial Order. For the moment the crisis was over, though the calm was a deceitful one, and the political soil was still breeding storms.

The Manitoba Government had not the slightest intention of losing a strong party position, and the prospects of a successful Provincial election campaign, as well as the chance of hurting a Conservative Dominion Government, for reasons of public peace and quietness. They would, therefore, do nothing. Rumors also continued to grow regarding dissensions in the Dominion Cabinet, and, on December 11th, the Hon. N. Clarke Wallace, Comptroller of Customs and leader of the Orangemen of Canada, resigned office. Within a few weeks the Manitoba Government advised the Federal authorities distinctly and definitely that they would have nothing to do with the re-establishment of Separate Schools in any form, and then appealed to the people for approval. They were given, in January, 1896, a sweeping majority, and, on February 27th, the new Legislature, by 31 to 7 votes, protested against any Dominion interference in Provincial school affairs. Meanwhile, the Dominion Parliament had been opened on January 2d, and the announcement made that legislation would be shortly introduced to carry out the terms of the Remedial Order. It had hardly more than met, however, before another and far more serious Cabinet crisis occurred. Seven Ministers—Messrs. George E. Foster, John G. Haggart, W. B. Ives, W. H. Montague, A. R. Dickey, J. F. Wood, and Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper—resigned on the 5th of the month.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER AND THE ELECTIONS OF 1896

It was simply a long-continued disagreement and disorganization coming to a head. Sir Mackenzie Bowell was hardly a strong enough leader to hold together a Cabinet

of conflicting opinions and personal differences in the face of a public crisis and a most complex national issue. He was a man of the highest character and administrative ability, but would have been the first to disclaim the qualities of a great leader. The trouble lasted for some days and ended in Sir Charles Tupper, who had recently come from England to further the proposed fast Atlantic Line of Steamships, giving up his High Commissionership, taking a position in the Ministry and the lead in the House of Commons. To the latter he was shortly afterward elected from Cape Breton Island. It was a brave and unselfish thing to do, and the task before him was enough to appall a much younger and more ambitious man. The other Ministers rejoined the Government and Parliament was soon able to proceed with the discussion of the Remedial Bill which was introduced, as promised, on February 11th.

Early in March, Sir Charles Tupper moved the second reading of the measure, and, on April 27th, the retirement of Sir M. Bowell and his own accession to the Premiership were announced. Meantime, Sir Donald A. Smith, the Hon. Alphonse Desjardins, and the Hon. A. R. Dickey had been sent to Winnipeg as a Commission to try and effect a compromise or settlement of the School question. But the mission was unsuccessful, and, unfortunately for the Conservative party, Sir Charles Tupper was equally unsuccessful in getting the Remedial Bill through Parliament. The Opposition obstructed its progress until the time came when the House had to be adjourned and the general elections held. The Tupper Government went to the country largely, though not of their own desire, upon this issue and met with an overwhelming defeat. Mr. Laurier became Premier, and, in November, 1896, an arrangement was made between the new Liberal Government of Canada and that of Manitoba which the party in power termed a successful compromise and absolute settlement and which the new Opposition described as a veritable farce.

It was to the general effect that the non-sectarian char-

acter of the schools should be maintained and provisions made for bi-lingual teaching where desired and for Catholic religious teaching within certain hours for children of that faith. Mutterings of dissatisfaction were still heard in Quebec, however, and in March, 1897, the Pope issued an Encyclical instructing the Bishops of the Province to suspend all further expression of opinion or action until His Holiness had investigated the matter thoroughly. The result was the despatch of Mgr. Merry del Val to Canada as Papal Ablegate and the practical disappearance of the issue from Canadian politics after his conferences with the hierarchy and return to Rome.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR AND IMPERIALISM IN CANADA

THE Contingents which went from Canada to participate in the South African War of 1899-1900 were the effect and not the cause of Canadian Imperialism. The sentiment surrounding the war, in the Dominion as in every other part of the Empire, was the arousing of a dormant but undoubtedly existent loyalty, and could not, therefore, be the cause of an expressed and evident devotion to Crown and Empire. Yet the war did service which perhaps nothing else could have done in proving the existence of this Imperial sentiment to the most shallow observer or hostile critic; in arousing it to heights of enthusiasm never dreamed of by the most fervent Imperialist; in rendering it possible for statesmen to change many a pious aspiration into practical action or announced policy; in making the organized defence of the Empire a future certainty, and its somewhat shadowy system of union a visible fact to the world at large.

POSITION OF CANADA IN THE EMPIRE

So far as Canada was concerned its action seems to have been partly a product of the sentiment of military pride

which was first aroused by the gathering together of Canadian troops to subdue the insurrection of 1885; partly a consequence of the growth of a Canadian sentiment which is local in scope and character, yet curiously anxious to make the Dominion known abroad and peculiarly sensitive to British opinion and approbation; partly an outcome of genuine loyalty among the people to British institutions and to the Crown as embodied in the personality and prestige of the Queen; partly a result of the shock to sensitive pride which came from seeing the soil of the Empire in South Africa invaded by the Boers, and the position of the Motherland in Europe threatened by a possible combination of hostile Powers. Upon the surface this last-mentioned cause was the principal and most prominent one.

There was no considerable precedent for the proffer of troops to the Imperial Government. During the Crimean War nothing had been done by the then disorganized Provinces except the voting of a sum of money for widows and orphans and the enlistment of the Hundredth Regiment. In the days of the *Trent* Affair and the Fenian raids, the Fort Garry rising and the Saskatchewan rebellion, volunteers were available; but it was for the purpose of fighting upon Canadian soil in defence of Canadian homes.

PROFFER OF TROOPS

During the Soudan War of 1885, a small body of Canadian volunteers and *voyageurs,* paid from Imperial funds and enlisted by request of the British Commander, had gone up the Nile in Lord Wolseley's expedition and under the immediate command of Lieutenant-Colonel F. C. Denison. But there was not much public interest in the matter, and it hardly created a ripple upon the slow-rolling stream of Canadian thought. A large force, amid much local enthusiasm, had also departed from the shores of New South Wales. No doubt these precedents had some effect, but a greater factor was the one elsewhere mentioned of an increasing military feeling which had been first aroused among the people as a

result of the battles of 1885 upon the North-West soil, and the sufferings, privations, and casualties among the soldiers who had then gone to the front.

More important, however, as a factor in this and other developments of an Imperial nature, was the work done by the Imperial Federation League in Canada during the years following 1885. That organization and its leaders had drawn persistent attention, in speeches and pamphlets and magazines and newspaper articles, to the change of sentiment which had come over the public men of Great Britain in connection with Empire affairs; to the fact that the Manchester School of unpleasant memory was practically dead, and that Mr. Goldwin Smith was but a lonely voice crying in the wilderness the doctrines of a degraded and decadent system of thought; to the melancholy picture presented by the few Canadian believers in the old-time advocacy of Colonial independence as they stood garbed in the cast-off clothes of Manchester; to the greatness of the Empire in extent, in population, in resources, in power, and in political usefulness to all humanity; to the necessity and desirability of closer union.

The effect of the League's work* in England and in Canada became indirectly visible in many directions, and strongly aided a development along Imperial lines which has since become marked and continuous. Canada took part in the Indian and Colonial Exhibition of 1886, in the Imperial Conference of 1887, in the organization of the Imperial Institute, in the calling of the Colonial Conference of 1894 at Ottawa, in a number of movements looking to Imperial cables, Imperial penny postage, Imperial tariffs, and Imperial steamship lines. But nothing of a military nature was advocated, and the point was, in fact, almost tabooed. The leaders of the League in London, in Melbourne, or in Toronto, were equally afraid to touch a portion of the general problem which was obviously so far in advance of Colonial public opinion as

* As an active officer of the League during almost the whole of its history in Canada the author is in a position to know something of the work done and influence wielded by the organization.

to render its advocacy dangerous to the cause. The events of 1899 were, therefore, all the more remarkable.

That a struggle should break out in far-away South Africa and create in Canada and Australasia an instantaneous intensity of interest comparable only to that felt by the American people of the North in their conflict with the South is one of the most curious incidents in history. The fact of its being a war in which the territory of the Empire was threatened was the real reason for this stirring expression of loyal sentiment, though the advance of public opinion in this connection is shown when we remember that, in 1862, Canadian soil was menaced by the *Trent* Affair, and, in 1866, by the Fenian raids, without eliciting any special signs of sympathy from Australasia; while in 1878 the Empire of India was threatened with invasion by Russia, and again at the time of the Pendjeh incident, without creating any great stir in either Canada or Australia. So with the peril which faced Natal in 1879 from the blood-stained *Impis* of Cetywayo. In the case of the Transvaal imbroglio, however, Canada felt a special attraction from the first on account of its being a racial matter, and one of a kind which the Dominion had encountered more than once and disposed of successfully. The diplomatic contest between Mr. Chamberlain and President Kruger and Sir Alfred Milner was, therefore, watched with keen attention, and there was considerable isolated talk of volunteering for the front in case of war—though this was checked by a feeling that the struggle would be short and insignificant.

INTEREST SHOWN IN THE IMPERIAL SITUATION

Still, there was among the military men a strong undercurrent of desire to raise some kind of volunteer force for active service, and, in this connection, Lieutenant-Colonel S. Hughes, M. P., was particularly enthusiastic. He introduced the subject in Parliament, on July 12th, while negotiations were still pending between President Kruger and Mr. Chamberlain. The result was that, despite the fact of

Queensland having already offered troops, and his own expression of opinion that 5,000 men would readily volunteer in Canada, it was thought best not to take any immediate action, and the Premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, expressed the hope and belief that, in view of the absolute justice of the Uitlanders' claims, recognition would eventually be given them and war averted. On July 31st more definite action was taken, and the following Resolution, moved in the House of Commons by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and seconded by the Hon. G. E. Foster in the absence, but with the approval of, Sir Charles Tupper as leader of the Opposition, was carried unanimously:

"That this House has viewed with regret the complications which have arisen in the Transvaal Republic, of which Her Majesty is Suzerain, from the refusal to accord to Her Majesty's subjects now settled in that region an adequate participation in its government. That this House has learned with still greater regret that the condition of things there existing has resulted in intolerable oppression and has produced great and dangerous excitement among several classes of Her Majesty's subjects in Her South African possessions. That this House, representing a people which has largely succeeded by the adoption of the principle of conceding equal political rights to every portion of the population, in harmonizing estrangements, and in producing general content with the existing system of Government, desires to express its sympathy with the efforts of Her Majesty's Imperial authorities to obtain for the subjects of Her Majesty, who have taken up their abode in the Transvaal, such measure of justice and political recognition as may be found necessary to secure them in the full possession of equal rights and liberties."

The members, after passing the motion, sprang to their feet and sang "God Save the Queen," amid a scene of striking enthusiasm which was duplicated a little later in the Senate. Following this expression of feeling, Colonel Hughes endeavored, upon his own responsibility, to raise a regiment for foreign service, and, in doing so, naturally came into collision with the head of the militia—Major-General E. T. H. Hutton. The result of this enthusiastic rashness was, of course, failure in the attempt, though at the same time he was able to afford a distinct indication of the general feeling in favor of something being done should war break out. Leading papers took up the subject and approved the sending of a force in case of necessity, and, on October 2d, a few days

before the war began, a large and representative meeting of Militia officers was held in Toronto and the following Resolution passed with unanimity and enthusiasm on motion of Lieutenant-Colonels George T. Denison and James Mason: "That the members of the Canadian Military Institute, feeling that it is a clear and definite duty for all British possessions to show their willingness to contribute in the common defence in case of need, express the hope that, in view of the impending hostilities in South Africa, the Government of Canada will promptly offer a contingent of Canadian Militia to assist in supporting the interests of our Empire in that country."

On the following day the Prime Minister was interviewed at Ottawa and expressed the opinion that it would be unconstitutional for the Militia, or a portion of it, to be sent out of Canada without the permission of Parliament, and that it would take some weeks to call that body together. Sir Wilfrid Laurier declared* that "there is no doubt as to the attitude of the Government on all questions that mean menace to British interests, but in this present case our limitations are very clearly defined. And so it is that we have not offered a Canadian Contingent to the Home authorities." Meantime, however, the matter had been under consideration, all the independent offers to serve from individuals or regiments had been duly forwarded to the Colonial Office, and each had received the stereotyped reply that, while negotiations were in progress, no further troops were required.

Public sentiment in Canada soon proved too strong for what might have been, in other circumstances, a legitimate constitutional delay. On September 27th Sir Charles Tupper, in a speech at Halifax, offered the Government the fullest support of the Conservative Opposition in the sending of a Contingent, and, on October 6th, telegraphed the Premier to the same effect. The British Empire League in Canada passed a Resolution declaring that the time had come when

* Toronto "Globe," October 4, 1899.

all parts of the Queen's dominions should share in the defence of British interests, and the St. John "Telegraph"—a strong Liberal paper—declared, on September 30th, that "Canada should not only send a force to the Transvaal, but should maintain it in the field." The Montreal "Star" sought and received telegrams from the Mayors of nearly every town in the Dominion indorsing the proposal to despatch military assistance to fellow-subjects in South Africa. Mr. J. W. Johnston, Mayor of Belleville, represented the general tone of these multitudinous messages in the words: "It is felt that the Dominion, being a partner in the Empire, should bear Imperial responsibilities as well as share Imperial honors and protection." The Toronto "Globe"—the leading Ontario Liberal paper—also supported the proposal, and soon the country from Halifax to Vancouver was stirred as it had not been since the North-West Rebellion of 1885—perhaps as it has never been in the sense of covering the entire Dominion.

ATTITUDE OF FRENCH CANADIANS

There was, inevitably, some opposition, and it was largely voiced by the Hon. J. Israel Tarte, Minister of Public Works in the Dominion Government. It was not apparently a note of disloyalty; it was simply the expression of a lack of enthusiasm and the magnifying of constitutional dangers or difficulties. No one in Canada expected the French Canadians, among whom Mr. Tarte is a party leader, to look upon the matter with just the same warmth of feeling as actuated English Canadians; and very few believed that the absence of this enthusiasm indicated any sentiment of actual disloyalty to the Crown or the country. The people of Quebec had not yet been educated up to the point of participation in British wars and Imperial defence; they were, as a matter of fact, in much the same position that the people of Ontario had been in ten or fifteen years before. The influences making for closer Empire unity could never in their case include a racial link or evolve from a common language and literature. The most and best that could be expected was a passive and

not distinctly unfriendly acquiescence in the new and important departure from precedent and practice which was evidenced by the announcement, on October 12th, that a Canadian Contingent had been accepted by the Imperial Government and was to be despatched to South Africa.

There was no active opposition to the proposal except from a section of the French-Canadian press, edited by Frenchmen from Paris, and from a rash young Member of Parliament who resigned his seat as a protest and was afterward re-elected by acclamation—both parties deeming it wisest to treat the matter as of no importance. Mr. Tarte, himself, eventually fell into line with his colleagues, but with the public announcement that he did not approve the principle of sending troops abroad without Parliamentary sanction; that he had obtained the Government's approval to an official statement that this present action was not to be considered as a precedent; and that he thought the only way to adequately meet similar situations in future was by definite and permanent arrangement with the Imperial authorities and representation in Imperial Councils. Upon the subject as a whole his attitude was certainly logical and loyal, but in effect it was untimely, unpopular, and unnecessary. And the continued utterances of his son's paper—"La Patrie" of Montreal—were of a nature calculated to irritate loyal sentiment and to arouse serious misapprehension among French Canadians.

However, the feeling of the country generally was too fervent to permit this obstacle having anything more than an ephemeral and passing influence. And any opposition which might exist among French Canadians assumed an essentially passive character. Toward the end of October an already announced pledge from an anonymous friend* of Sir Charles Tupper's to insure the life of each member of the Contingent to the extent of $1,000 was redeemed, and on October 24th the following message was received through the Secretary of State for the Colonies: "Her Majesty the Queen desires to

* This generosity was afterward found to emanate from the ever-generous Lord Strathcona.

thank the people of her Dominion of Canada for their striking manifestation of loyalty and patriotism in their voluntary offer to send troops to co-operate with Her Majesty's Imperial forces in maintaining her position and the rights of British subjects in South Africa. She wishes the troops God-speed and a safe return."

THE FIRST CONTINGENT FOR SOUTH AFRICA

The first Contingent of one thousand men steamed down the St. Lawrence from Quebec on October 30th, after farewell banquets to the officers and an ovation from immense crowds in the gayly decorated streets of the "Ancient Capital." For weeks before this date little divisions of 50, or 100, or 125 men had been leaving their respective local centres amid excitement such as Canada had never witnessed before. St. John and Halifax, on the Atlantic Coast, were met by Victoria and Vancouver, on the shores of the Pacific, in a wild outburst of patriotic enthusiasm. Toronto and Winnipeg responded for the centre of the Dominion, and, at the Quebec "send off," there were delegations and individual representatives from all parts of the country. Every village which contributed a soldier to the Contingent also added to the wave of popular feeling by marking his departure as an event of serious import, while Patriotic Funds of every kind were started and well maintained throughout the country. It was, indeed, a manifestation of the military and Imperial spirit such as Canadians had never dreamed of seeing, and for many months the words upon every lip were those of the popular air—"Soldiers of the Queen." To quote the Hon. F. W. Borden, Minister of Militia and Defence, at the Quebec banquet on October 29th: "This was the people's movement, not that of any Government or party; it emanated from the whole people of Canada, and it is being indorsed by them as shown by the words and deeds of the people at all points where the troops started from." The Earl of Minto, as Governor-General, in bidding official farewell to the troops on the succeeding day, expressed the same idea, and added,

in words of serious importance when coming from the Queen's Representative and bearing, indirectly, upon the much-discussed question of Government hesitancy in making the first offer of military aid, that:

"The people of Canada had shown that they had no inclination to discuss the quibbles of Colonial responsibility. They had unmistakably asked that their loyal offers be made known and rejoiced in their gracious acceptance. In so doing surely they had opened a new chapter in the history of our Empire. They freely made their military gift to the Imperial cause to share the privations and dangers and glories of the Imperial army. They had insisted on giving vent to an expression of sentimental, Imperial unity, which might, perhaps, hereafter prove more binding than any written Imperial constitution."

The principal officers of the Contingent were its commander, Lieutenant-Colonel W. D. Otter, who had seen active service in the North-West Rebellion, Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence Buchan, Lieutenant-Colonel O. C. C. Pelletier, Major J. C. McDougall, and Major S. J. A. Denison, who was afterward appointed to Lord Roberts' Staff. The troopship *Sardinian* arrived at Cape Town on the 29th of November, and the Canadians were given a splendid reception—Sir Alfred Milner cabling Lord Minto that: "The people here showed in unmistakable manner their appreciation of the sympathy and help of Canada in their hour of trial." The Royal Canadian Regiment of Infantry, as the Contingent was called, at once went up to De Aar, and later on to Belmont, the scene of Lord Methuen's gallant fight. From here a portion of the Canadian troops took part in a successful raid upon Sunnyside, a place some distance away, where there was an encampment of Boers. A number of the enemy were captured, but the incident was chiefly memorable as the first time in history, as well as in the war itself, when Canadians and Australians have fought side by side with British regular troops. Meanwhile, public feeling in Canada seemed to favor the sending of further aid, and its feasibility was more than shown by the thousands who had volunteered for the first Contingent over and above those selected. But it was not until some of the earlier reverses of the war took place that the offer of a second Contingent was pressed upon the Home

Government. On November 8th, however, it was declined for the moment and a week later Mr. Chamberlain wrote the following expressive words to the Governor-General:

"The great enthusiasm and the general eagerness to take an active part in the military expedition which has unfortunately been found necessary for the maintenance of British rights and interests in South Africa have afforded much gratification to Her Majesty's Government and the people of this country. The desire exhibited to share in the risks and burdens of empire has been welcomed not only as a proof of the stanch loyalty of the Dominion and of its sympathy with the policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government in South Africa, but also as an expression of that growing feeling of the unity and solidarity of the Empire which has marked the relations of the Mother-country with the Colonies during recent years."

A SECOND CONTINGENT IS SENT

On December 18th, events in South Africa and the pressure of loyal proffers of aid from Australia and elsewhere induced the Imperial Government to change their minds, the second Contingent from the Dominion was accepted, and once again the call to arms resounded throughout Canada. The first troops had been composed of infantry, the second were made up of artillery and cavalry. Eventually, it was decided to send 1,220 men, together with horses, guns, and complete equipment, and they duly left for the Cape, in detachments, toward the end of January and in the beginning of February. A third force of 400 mounted men was recruited in the latter month and sent to the seat of war fully equipped, and with all expenses paid, through the personal and patriotic generosity of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, the Canadian High Commissioner in London. In addition to "Strathcona's Horse," another independent force of 125 men was offered in similar fashion by the British Columbia Provincial Government and duly accepted at London and Ottawa, though for local reasons of political change never despatched; while a movement was commenced to proffer an organized Dominion Brigade of 10,000 men, if required.

Little wonder, therefore, when such a popular spirit was shown, and when the anxiety to enlist and the influence used to obtain a chance of going to the front were greater than

men usually show to obtain positions of permanent financial value, that Field Marshal Lord Roberts, shortly after his appointment to South Africa, should have cabled his expression of belief that "the action of Canada will always be a glorious page in the history of the sons of the Empire. I look for great things from the men she has sent and is sending to the front." Meantime, even the slightest opposition to the policy of aiding the Empire had died out—in fact, its assertion would have been dangerous, or at least unpleasant, and when Parliament met early in February the Government announced its intention of asking a vote of $2,000,000 for expenses in the despatch of the Contingents and for the payment after their return, or to the heirs of those who were killed, of an addition to the ordinary wage of the British soldier.

This brief description of the events leading up to and illustrating Canada's action during an eventful period may be concluded by a quotation from the speech of the Hon. G. W. Ross, Prime Minister of Ontario, at a banquet given in Toronto, on December 21st, to Mr. J. G. H. Bergeron, M. P., of Montreal—a French Canadian who had expressed in fervent terms what he believed to be the loyalty of his people to the British Crown. Mr. Ross declared in emphatic and eloquent language that:

"It is not for us to say that one or two Contingents should be sent to the Transvaal, but to say to Great Britain that all our money and all our men are at the disposal of the British Empire. It is not for us to balance questions of Parliamentary procedure when Britain's interests are at stake, but to respond to the call that has been sent throughout the whole Empire, and to show that in this western bulwark of the Empire there are men as ready to stand by her as were her men at Waterloo. It is not for us to be pessimists, but to have undying faith in British power and steadily to maintain the integrity of her Empire. I hope that the present strife may soon pass, and that, at its close, Canadians will feel that they have done their duty to the flag that has protected them and under whose paternal Government they have prospered in the past. Their motto should be 'Canada and the Empire, one and inseparable, now and forever.'"

The men despatched from Canada, as already stated, numbered 3,000 altogether. They included the Royal Canadian

Regiment under Colonel Otter, the Canadian Mounted Rifles, Strathcona's Horse, and some Batteries of Field Artillery. The 1st Battalion of the Rifles was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel F. L. Lessard, the 2d Battalion by Lieutenant-Colonel L. W. Herchmer, and afterward by Lientenant-Colonel T. B. D. Evans. Strathcona's Horse was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel S. B. Steele and the Field Artillery by Lieutenant-Colonel C. W. Drury. They were all good officers, and Colonel Otter, especially, won a high reputation for the efficiency and discipline of his Regiment, the largest distinct Canadian body at the front. The men of all these forces saw much service and experienced much privation. The Royal Canadian Regiment, or portions of it, shared in the skirmish at Sunnyside, in the far more important battles around Paardeberg and in the capture of Cronje.

For their galliantry in this latter fight, the impetus which they gave to the Boer General's surrender, and the position they took and held beside the greatest historic regiments of the Motherland, the Canadians won immediate and lasting fame. Lord Roberts eulogized them publicly, cables of congratulation came to Canada from the Queen and Lord Wolseley, Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir Alfred Milner, and, as it were in an hour, Canada appeared to take its proper place in the defence system of the Empire. These things do not really happen in such an instantaneous fashion, but, as the roar of explosion follows the making of the cannon, the manufacture of its powder and shot, and its loading in an effective manner, so the charge of the Royal Canadians at Paardeberg revealed to the world in a moment the existence of that unity of sentiment and Imperial loyalty which had been developing for years in the backwoods and cities of Canada or in the bush and the civic centres of Australia.

The Regiment took part in the famous march to Bloemfontein and in the further campaign toward Kroonstadt and Johannesburg into Pretoria. They were brigaded with the Gordons and other Highland regiments for a time, and were then placed in the 19th Brigade, under Major-General H. L.

Smith-Dorrien, who, on July 16th, issued an official Order of historic interest in which he stated that: "The 19th Brigade has achieved a record of which any infantry might be proud. Since the date it was formed, namely, the 12th of February, it has marched 620 miles, often on half rations and seldom on full. It has taken part in the capture of ten towns, fought in ten general actions, and on twenty-seven other days. In one period of thirty days it fought on twenty-one of them and marched 327 miles. The casualties have been between four and five hundred and the defeats *nil*." Meanwhile, the Canadian Mounted Rifles had been attached to Sir Redvers Buller's force, and under the more immediate command of Major-General E. T. H. Hutton. They took part, and, later on the Strathcona's, in the conflicts and incidents of the march from Natal to Pretoria and the North, and upon several occasions won distinguished mention from their commanders.

One of those incidents which brightened this war by its evidences of heroism was the holding of an advanced post at Horning Spruit by four men of "D" Squadron, Mounted Rifles, against some fifty Boers. Two of them were killed and two wounded, but the post was held. General Hutton in afterward writing Lord Minto (on July 2, 1900), described the action as showing "gallantry and devotion to duty" of a high order, and went on to say that the North-West Mounted Police—to which these men had originally belonged—"have been repeatedly conspicuous in displaying the highest qualities required of a British soldier in the field." The "C" Battery of the Royal Canadian Artillery had, meantime, been sent round by way of Beira and Portuguese territory, through Rhodesia, to join Colonel Plumer's Column in the relief of Mafeking. With a Queensland Contingent they shared in the hardships of a long and difficult journey, and arrived at Mafeking, after a brilliant march of thirty-three miles, just in time to contribute materially to the rescue of its heroic little garrison. They had journeyed from Cape Town, by sea and land, over 3,000 miles, in thirty-three days—partly by

ship, partly by marching, partly by mule wagons, and partly by train.

Individual incidents of bravery were numerous in all the Contingents and the losses by death, or wounds, and the suffering from enteric fever or other diseases very great. Private R. R. Thompson of the Royal Canadian Regiment won the Queen's Scarf—one of which Her Majesty had specially knitted for a representative of each of the four chief external portions of her Empire. Sergeant A. H. L. Richardson of Strathcona's Horse was awarded the Victoria Cross for gallantry in action. Captain H. M. Arnold of the Royal Canadians died from wounds received while leading his men at Paardeberg. Lieutenant H. L. Borden, son of the Minister of Militia, and Lieutenant J. E. Burch of St. Catherines, were killed while leading their men with pronounced bravery in another action. Lieutenant M. G. Blanchard of the Royal Canadians, and who afterward joined the Derbyshires, Lieutenant F. V. Young of the Mounted Rifles, Captain C. A. Hensley of the 2d Dublin Fusileers, Lieutenant J. W. Osborne of the Scottish Rifles, Lieutenant C. C. Wood of the North Lancashires, and Lieutenant J. L. Lawlor of the 6th Inniskilling Dragoons were among the other Canadians killed in the war. In September, 1900, when the struggle was drawing to a close, the Canadian casualties of killed, or who had died of wounds or disease, were 123.

Others had distinguished themselves in different ways. Lieutenant-Colonel E. P. C. Girouard of the Royal Engineers, in charge of railway construction, and assisted latterly by Lieutenants A. E. Hodgins and C. J. Armstrong; Lieutenant C. W. W. McLean, who was appointed A. D. C. on the staff of Sir H. E. Colville and granted a commission in the Royal Artillery; Captains H. B. Stairs and A. H. Macdonell, specially mentioned by Colonel Otter for personal gallantry; Lieutenant-Colonel J. L. Biggar and Major J. C. McDougall—the one D. A. A. G. for Canada at Cape Town and the other for Railway Transport; Lieutenant A. C. Caldwell, in charge of the mapping section of the Intelli-

gence Department; Lieutenant-Colonel W. D. Gordon of Montreal, who acted as D. A. A. G. for Australasia; the Rev. P. M. O'Leary of Quebec, the Roman Catholic Chaplain of the Royal Canadians, who did much for the sick and wounded—often under fire—are some of those who had heavy and responsible duties given them or became prominent in various phases of service. Lieutenant-Colonel G. Sterling Ryerson, who went to the front as Canadian Red Cross Commissioner, did some service and received appointment as a British Red Cross Commissioner and many subsequent marks of appreciation from those in authority. Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Hughes who, on account of his early insubordination, did not receive the regular appointment which would otherwise have been his, went out to South Africa upon his own responsibility and was given an opportunity to redeem himself by appointment to a command under Sir Charles Warren. He showed bravery and skill in the irregular warfare of the moment, but seriously lost reputation by the letters which he sent home and by continued bitter attacks upon the Governor-General and General Hutton.

Such is the story of the share taken by Canada and Canadian troops in this eventful struggle. It was an important share and one entirely out of proportion to the number of men sent to the front from the Dominion. To compare the 3,000 Canadians in South Africa with the 15,000 volunteers contributed by Cape Colony, the 5,000 given by little Natal, or the 8,000 sent from Australasia, indicates this fact. But the assertion of a new and great principle of Imperial defence; the revolution effected in methods of war by the proved and superior mobility of Colonial forces in the contest; the actual achievements of the men themselves in steadiness, discipline, and bravery, reveal ample reasons for considering the participation of Canada in this war as one of the great events of its history. The conduct of all the Colonial troops was, indeed, such as to win general praise and to thoroughly warrant the statement in the Queen's Speech at the

opening of the British Parliament on August 8, 1900, that the war "has placed in the strongest light the heroism and high military qualities of the troops brought together under my banner from this country, from Canada, Australasia, and my South African Possessions."

CHAPTER XXVIII

A REVIEW OF POPULAR PROGRESS

IN a country where the traditions of the people have been chiefly those of other and older lands; where the history, until within a few generations of time, has been one of internal conflict between rival races and foreign flags; where the modern events of development in a constitutional direction and in material welfare have been controlled by the slowly merging antagonisms of race and religion; the growth of liberty and the matured practice of self-government have naturally afforded room for interesting and stirring experiences. Add to these considerations vast and almost unknown areas, immense difficulties of transportation and trade, the competition of a great southern neighbor of not always friendly tendencies, the continued arrival throughout half a century of hundreds of thousands of people with diverse tastes and politics and various degrees of knowledge or ignorance, and the position grows in interest and importance.

With the nineteenth century commenced the constitutional history of Canada. To the British subject and elector of the end of that century it is difficult to clearly comprehend the situation in those olden days. Newspapers were so few as to be of little influence. Books were scarce, valuable, and of a character not calculated to throw light upon existing problems. The people of Lower Canada were wrapped up in the traditions and surroundings of many years before, and, under the British flag, were fondly nursing the ideas and ideals of Old France in the days of Louis XIV; of New France in the

days of Montcalm and the earlier period and glories of Frontenac. The people of the English Provinces were still little more than isolated pioneer settlers steeped in the shadowed memories of a past struggle for King and institutions and country; imbittered against all republican or democratic tendencies; prejudiced, naturally and inevitably, against the Radicals of England who had helped to ruin the Royal cause in the Thirteen Colonies, and against the French of Quebec who had been so long the traditional enemies of England and the sincere foes of British supremacy in North America. To them, all new-comers, whether the later Loyalists from the States, or immigrants of subsequent years from the Old Land, were subjects of suspicion as being possibly alien in origin, or indifferent in sentiment to their own sacrifices and their own sacred political beliefs. To the French Canadians, all immigrants were equally undesirable as being practically certain to possess religious and racial differentiation from themselves.

THE EVOLUTION OF CANADIAN PARTIES

Into this peculiar mass of varied interests and antagonistic feelings came the leaven of a constitutional and Parliamentary system. It did not develop from within. It was not the result of popular evolution or even of popular desire. The French Canadians accepted it as an external part of their new situation, a political appanage to the Conquest; while the Loyalists of the other Provinces did not really want it and would probably have been quite satisfied for many years to come with able Governors and reasonably efficient local advisers. Still, the latter knew how to use it when received and were more or less familiar with the underlying principles of a Legislature and free government. When, however, increasing population brought varied political sentiments and personalities into conflict with the Loyalists, the inevitable result followed and a dominant class found itself in collision with a dominating people who cared more for the present than the past, more for phantasms of liberty than memories

of loyalty, more for a share in the government of the country than for abstract justice to the men who had in great measure made the country. In Lower Canada, as elsewhere pointed out, the Legislature soon became merely a weapon of offence against everything British; and the external institution foisted upon a people who understood autocracy better than the simplest principle of freedom, and who had not even practiced the most rudimentary elements of municipal self-government, was adapted to the exigences of racial feeling with a facility which reflects credit upon French-Canadian quickness of perception while fully illustrating the racial prejudices of the people. Out of these conditions came the Rebellion of 1837, the troubles of 1849, and the struggles of the "Sixties."

At the beginning of the century Toryism was dominant; at the end of the century democracy governs. Which was the better? The average writer will unhesitatingly say that the rule of the people, by the people, is the accredited dictum of his age and the only just principle of government. But the admission of the fact that popular rule is wise and right in 1900 does not interfere with a perception that, under vastly different conditions, other forms and systems in 1800 may also have been wise and proper for the time being. The government by a class in the English Provinces and in days when that class represented the loyal and pioneer population of the country, and ruled it in accordance with the hereditary sentiments of the majority was not in itself unjust in practice or despotic in principle. The resistance of that class to innovation and democracy was natural and probably wise at a time when these things meant American ideas and the dangers of American propaganda in a small and weak community. The rule of a few leading families of experience and knowledge in days of scattered settlers and isolated homes and general poverty was in itself a benefit. In Lower Canada the English settlers were the only class trained in the self-government which had been meted out in a measure as large as was thought to be safe and wise and which was really too

large for the occasion. They were the only element, outside of a few Seigneurs, who were in any way fitted for administration and justice and the making of impartial laws—as the subsequent adventures of the French Assembly clearly prove.

Moreover, if this class Government of 1800 was a selfish one in some respects it was not any more so than a partisan Government in 1900 would be. If it chose associates from, and filled appointments with, its relatives and friends, the sin was no greater than that of any Canadian Government of a hundred years later. If it fought strenuously and sincerely, in all the Provinces, for British institutions as then understood and for the British connection which it regarded as a child does its mother, who is there in 1900 that can throw stones at it? Faults and flounderings there were in the Toryism of 1800, but if we measure it in accordance with its pioneer surroundings and limited resources we must conclude that those results were no more serious in bulk or consequences than are the faults and flounderings of the democracy of 1900. And between the two lie a hundred years of struggle and evolution, of growing wealth and increased popular intelligence.

CANADIAN POLITICAL LEADERS

The leaders of the century, the rulers of the people, have, however, greatly changed in character and scope of culture as the country has slowly broadened out from Colonies into Provinces, from Provinces into a Dominion, from a Dominion into a British nation. The early leaders of the Canadas such as William Smith, Jonathan Sewell, John Beverley Robinson, and Isaac Allen were steeped to the lips in memories of the Thirteen Colonies and the Revolution. Later Tory leaders such as Bishop Strachan, Sir Allan N. McNab, William Henry Draper, Henry Sherwood, and William Cayley were equally instinct with the traditions of English life as found in the pages of history and the knowledge of Canadian adherents. Many of these men were cultured gentlemen

in the best English sense of the word, as were also Robert Baldwin, Francis Hincks, and such French Canadians as Sir L. H. Lafontaine, Sir A. A. Dorion, and Sir E. P. Taché. They strove to imitate English manners and customs as far as possible, and many leaders of French extraction added a most useful element of courtesy and grace to the politics and social life of the young and struggling community. On the other hand, many of the French-Canadian leaders of the first half of the century were steeped in the traditions of French life, the affiliations of French literature, and the elements of French thought. They followed the democracy of republican France—with a dash of republican America as one of the constituents of theory and policy. Canada as a national entity was, of course, not in existence and the culture of the mixed community was, therefore, either French or English, with a strong additional independent element—as the years advanced toward the beginning of the second half of the century—of something that was purely American in style and type.

In the year 1900 it is almost a question which of all these elements is uppermost in the peculiar condition of affairs embodied in the name Canadian. There is a strong and pronounced Canadian sentiment among the people which has largely overcome and destroyed, in their politicians and leaders, the extraneous tendencies of opinion known as French, or English, or American. At the same time the bulk of the population is British in its loyalty and increasingly Imperialistic in opinion—a sentiment grading upward from the passiveness of Quebec to the enthusiasm of Toronto, or Victoria, or Halifax. The culture of the community has become, nominally, a local culture. It chiefly emanates from local Universities and in politics is made to fit local feelings. But the general tendency has been to make this culture American in style and character. Canadian Universities are largely affected by American influences, as is the whole educational system of the country. The press is American in type and utterly opposed in principles of management

to the English model. The politics of the Dominion are run upon lines about half-way between the antagonistic systems of Great Britain and the United States. The speech, manner, and style of its public men are essentially American and the social character of the community more nearly approximates to that type than to any other.

Canadian leaders of the last half of the century have been very different in type from their fellow-leaders at the heart of the Empire. Few of them have even had the culture of old-time gentlemen such as Robinson or Sewell. None of them has shown the varied accomplishments now so common among the statesmen of Great Britain, where a Salisbury is devoted to science, a Rosebery has written one of the most eloquent little books of the century, a Balfour has won fame as a philosophic writer, and a Gladstone has distinguished himself in almost innumerable fields of attainment. Lack of time, and the fact of having to make a living when out of office, together with the receipt of small salaries when in office, are the real reasons for this condition of affairs. In England it is an everyday matter for some leading public man to speak at length, and with evident learning, upon questions of literature, art, sociology, philosophy, and the progress, or otherwise, of all the varied elements of a complex civilization. As yet Canada has not approached this level, though signs have not been wanting toward the end of the century that the Dominion is slowly growing upward in culture as in other matters. And, even now, it is greatly superior in the style of its public men to the position of Australasian leaders.

In other respects Canadian leaders differ from those of earlier years. With all their wider outlook, and the Imperial position which the Dominion has latterly attained, they still remain somewhat narrow in conception, while the necessity of conciliating rival races and religions has developed an extreme opportunism. The latter quality has come to them in part from over the American border; in part from the peculiar nature of the mixed Canadian democracy; in part from the brilliant example in details and methods,

though not really in principles, of Sir John A. Macdonald. The British practice of holding certain political convictions, in office or out of it, and of willingly surrendering power if anything happens to change those convictions, has not prevailed in Canada to anything like a general extent since the days of responsible government. Sir John Macdonald, it is true, had certain defined and prominent principles—British connection, protection, opposition to American union of any kind—but outside of these he was quite willing to modify his opinions in order to forward the interests of his party. It was not so in the earlier days of Canada; it is not so in the later days of England, where a Hartington, or Bright, or Chamberlain has sacrificed his party feelings and associations and apparent future in order to oppose the new and dangerous proposals of a great popular leader such as Gladstone.

Still, the politics of Canada, with all their admitted elements of weakness, do not, at the end of the century, merit pessimistic consideration. Sir John Macdonald may have been an opportunist in minor matters, but it is more than probable that Canada would not be a national unit and a power in the Empire to-day if he had not combined opportunism with the higher methods of statesmanship. Sir John Thompson, during his nine years of Dominion public life, gave the country a career of sterling honesty and won a reputation for political integrity which deserves the appreciation of posterity as it certainly conferred credit upon the Dominion of his too-brief day. Sir Leonard Tilley combined undoubted personal honor with rare qualities of speech and manner and heart.

Sir Oliver Mowat, during his almost quarter of a century of Premiership in the Province of Ontario, displayed qualities of tact and conciliation which rose to the level of statesmanship. Sir Adolphe Chapleau, during his long career in the politics of Quebec and Canada, developed a character that was curiously compounded of political selfishness and indifference to some of the higher principles of public life, with an eloquence which was so great as to stamp him a born

leader of men. Sir Charles Tupper has contributed to Canadian history an element of force, a character of determination, and a career of consistent political labor which marks him out as a man worthy of high place in any country's Valhalla of eminence. The Hon. George Eulas Foster has given to the later years of Dominion politics an eloquence of speech and debate which it is difficult to find the equal in Canadian history—unless it be the case of Joseph Howe. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the first Liberal Premier of Canada since the days of Mackenzie, is an undoubted opportunist in politics, but he is also one of the most picturesque figures in the public life of the Empire. Handsome, eloquent in French and English, graceful in manner and bearing, cultured in language and attainment, he is a man of whose personality the country has reason to be proud. Sir Richard Cartwright is of a very different type, and one of the very few Canadian politicians whose oratory approximates to the English style, and whose references and similes indicate wide knowledge and reading.

Upon the whole, it is apparent that, while Canadian politics are on a lower level than those in England, they are upon a much higher plane than in the United States or Australia. It is also clear that, while political leaders have changed greatly from the type of rulers living in the beginning of the century, and have not yet developed the culture of older lands and wider opportunities, they have managed to more than hold their own upon this continent, and are now, at the end of the century, rapidly developing along lines of political action which must, more and more, bring them into touch with the world-wide interests, politics, and rule of the Motherland. This will probably produce a higher form of political life and individual culture in the future, though its attainment must be preceded by the creation of a more truly Canadian press and the establishment of a news system which does not leave the daily intellectual food of the Canadian people in American hands, or British and Imperial public affairs to be dealt with from a naturally alien and unsympathetic point of view.

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

During the century which constitutes the developing period of Canadian history, as distinct from its picturesque and military periods, education has gone through various stages of growth. In Quebec it was at first essentially a religious and ecclesiastical system, controlled by priests and nuns and institutions under the leadership of the Church. Much of it was of the higher, or collegiate, type, and intended primarily for the training of religious teachers. The attempts at establishing a general school system prior to the Rebellion, in 1837, were tentative and feeble, even among the small English population; and such schools as were in existence met with disaster in the times of trouble immediately preceding and succeeding the insurrection. The teachers of the day were needy and illiterate, the supervision careless and dishonest, the school-houses dirty and, in winter, very cold, the children unprovided with books, and the parents singularly indifferent.* After the union with Upper Canada legislation of various kinds and degrees of value followed, and, between 1853 and 1861, the pupils in Lower Canadian educational institutions of all kinds increased from 108,000 to 180,000, and the assessments and fees for their support rose from $165,000 to $526,000.

Meanwhile, the Roman Catholic religious bodies of the Province had increased greatly in educational strength and efficiency—especially the higher institutions of instruction. They possessed at least 2,000,000 acres of land, some of it in the heart of Montreal and other growing centres, which developed wealth by every year's growth of the country. Colleges for this kind of teaching were founded at Quebec, Montreal, L'Assomption, Joliette, Levis, Nicolet, Rigaud, Rimouski, Ste. Anne, St. Hyacinthe, St. Laurent, Rouville, Terrebonne, and other places. In 1854, Laval University was inaugurated at Quebec and later on was also established

* Arthur Buller. "Report upon Education in the Province of Quebec." 1838.

in Montreal. From its scholastic halls have come most of the rulers and leaders of French Canada since that time. Three years later Normal Schools were established for the training of teachers, and, in 1854, a Council of Public Instruction was organized, with eleven Catholics and four Protestants in its membership. Out of this development came a common or public school system which slowly improved until, in 1875—eight years after Confederation, when education had been placed in the hands of the Provincial Governments—legislation, initiated by M. de Boucherville, along the lines which had been slowly evolved by Dr. Jean Baptiste Meilleur and the Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau in two preceding decades, established the existing system.

At the end of the century this system is notable as having been created in a Province dominated by one race and religion and yet conceived and practiced in almost perfect fairness toward the minority. The Superintendent of Public Instruction has usually held office for many years in succession and has been fairly independent of political parties. The Catholic and Protestant elements of the population have separate Sections of the Council of Public Instruction and they administer the funds provided so as to suit the different ideas and ideals of their people. The Province boasts of seventeen colleges founded and maintained by the Roman Catholic clergy. It has McGill University as the centre of its English-speaking education during fifty years—much of the time under the administration and management of the late Sir William Dawson—and now developed into one of the great Universities of the British Empire. The standard of superior education in the Province is high; the standard of education in its more preliminary forms is improving; the teaching Orders of women who instruct pupils, numbering, in 1896, over 37,000, in domestic economy as well as in ordinary accomplishments, are doing most useful work; the number of children attending schools of all kinds has increased from 212,000 in 1867 to 307,000 in 1897.

In the other Provinces there has been no racial division

among the people, but there were, at first, the inevitable difficulties of pioneer life, poverty of resource, and distances in space. Isolation and lack of money produced paucity of schools everywhere and poorness of teaching wherever they did exist. Dr. John Strachan, Bishop and politician and polemist, was practically the pioneer of education in Upper Canada. Out of his school at Cornwell came the leading men of the early days and from his conception of sectarian, or Church of England education, came greater institutions of learning in Toronto—the Upper Canada College, King's College, which was afterward secularized as the University of Toronto, and Trinity College, which he then established as an educational centre for his cherished Church.

Contemporary with him in part, and living and working after him, was Dr. Egerton Ryerson, the modern organizer of the public school system of Ontario, the vigorous and devoted champion of popular education and common schools. At first, in Upper Canada and down by the Atlantic, as in Quebec, instruction in its simpler forms was greatly neglected. Long after the people had passed out of their pioneer position and the excuse of poor roads or no roads, and of poverty, or lack of public organization, was removed from valid consideration, they seemed to remain indifferent, in all the English Provinces, to the education of children and to be much more inclined to lavish money and attention upon Colleges and higher branches of learning. The log schoolhouse of early days, the painfully inadequate accommodation for the pupils, the ignorant and sometimes intemperate teachers, remained public evils, in at least the two latter particulars, well up to the end of the first half of the century. Gradually and eventually, a change for the better took place. Dr. Ryerson worked wonders in Upper Canada. His School Act of 1850, followed by the establishment of Separate Catholic Schools, in 1862, laid the foundation of the existing system which the sweeping legislation of 1871 altered greatly in detail without affecting seriously in principle.

In 1876 the important change was made of placing the Education Department in charge of a responsible member of the Provincial Government and, between that time and 1883, it was under the control of the Hon. Adam Crooks. His successor was the Hon. George W. Ross, who held the position until his accession to the Premiership of the Province in 1899. Progress from the middle of the century onward had been very marked. Between 1850 and 1871 the teachers in the public schools increased by 2,000 in number and the attendance of pupils by 100,000. Between the latter date and 1896 the teachers increased from 5,306 to 8,988 and the average attendance of pupils from 188,000 to 271,000. More important still, perhaps, the standard of education grew better and better until the public schools were fully established in a position of equality with other departments of study and as a part of a great educational chain in which the links were the elementary or public schools, the high schools, the normal schools for teachers, the Colleges and Universities.

Sectarian higher education had, meanwhile, grown greatly in popularity and power in Ontario. Besides the University of Toronto, which was secular in its control and instruction, though originally sectarian, and Trinity College, which was Anglican in support and policy, the Presbyterians had started Knox College at Toronto and Queen's University at Kingston —the latter a notable institution in the concluding quarter of the century under the control of Principal George Monro Grant; the Methodists founded Albert College at Belleville, which, in time, joined with Victoria College of Cobourg, as a federated institution and later on became Victoria University of Toronto; the Baptists established McMaster University in Toronto, and the Roman Catholics founded in succession, Regiopolis College at Kingston and the University of Ottawa at Ottawa.

In the Maritime Provinces early conditions were very similar to those of Upper Canada or Ontario. There was the same poverty in school arrangements and paucity in

teaching talent or training. There was the same indifference shown among the masses of the people toward elementary education and the same tendency among the rulers and upper classes to promote higher education and collegiate institutions. King's College at Windsor, Nova Scotia, was organized as far back as 1788; the University of New Brunswick was founded at Fredericton in the first year of the century; Dalhousie University was established at Halifax under the auspices of the Earl of Dalhousie in 1821; Acadia College, Wolfville, was formed in 1838, as the educational centre of the Baptists and as a protest against the Church of England associations of all the other Colleges. Mount Allison College, Sackville, N. B., was founded by the Methodists in 1843, and the Presbyterian College at Halifax in 1820. In Nova Scotia, the Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch, and in New Brunswick, the Rev. Dr. Edwin Jacob did continuous and splendid service to this cause of higher education. The elementary system developed more slowly. Nova Scotia possessed only 217 schools and 5,514 pupils in 1824, spent upon them less than $50,000 and voted down more than one measure for taxing the people in their support. In 1850, however, Mr. (afterward Sir) J. W. Dawson was appointed the first Superintendent of Education in the Province. Progress then became more rapid and improved methods of teaching and plans of building were developed. He was succeeded in 1855 by the Rev. Dr. Alexander Forrester, and, in 1864, the Hon. Dr. Tupper introduced in the Legislature of Nova Scotia his famous measure establishing free schools and a general public assessment for their maintenance. He fought the Bill through successfully, but the unpopularity of the direct taxation involved defeated him at the ensuing elections.

The system, however, was established, and, under the succeeding management of the Rev. A. S. Hunt, Dr. Theodore H. Rand, Dr. David Allison, and Dr. Alexander H. MacKay, became eminently successful. The number of teachers rose from 916 in 1865 to 2,438 in 1896, the average daily attendance of pupils from 23,572 to 53,023, the popular assessment

for expenses from $124,000 to $450,000, the Provincial grant from $87,000 to $242,000. The Council of Public Instruction is composed of five members of the Government and the Superintendent of Education is a non-political administrator of the Department under their general control. Separate schools have never been organized in Nova Scotia under Provincial auspices, although the Catholics have an efficient system of higher education including St. Francois Xavier College at Antigonish and the College of Ste. Anne at Church Point.

In New Brunswick, for many years after the beginning of the century, teachers' salaries remained so small and the position was so undignified—as a result of the universal custom in pioneer Canada of "boarding around" at the houses of the school patrons so as to eke out meagre remuneration —that good men would have nothing to do with the profession. As late as 1845 teachers' wages averaged $125 a year in this Province and much of that miserable sum was not paid in cash. In this year, however, matters seem to have come to a head, a Committee of the Legislature was appointed to investigate the condition of education in the Province and two years later an effort was made to establish an organized system. In 1852 a Superintendent was appointed and in 1858 further legislation took place. But it appeared impossible to change the apathy and indifference of the people. Though they were fighting bitter sectarian contests over Universities and Test Acts and higher education, they refused to take any interest in, or tax themselves for, the elementary teaching of their children.

In 1871, therefore, it was decided to establish free schools and compulsory attendance, and to, at the same time, abolish all religious teaching. This latter action was a distinct blow to the Catholic Separate Schools, which had practically developed, and was, of course, strongly resented by the people of that Church. The measure passed, however, and stands as greatly to the credit of the Hon. George E. King, then Premier of the Province and afterward Justice of the Su-

preme Court at Ottawa, as does the preceding establishment of free schools in Nova Scotia to the credit of Sir Charles Tupper. The system is much the same as in the latter Province, and has been presided over since 1871 by Dr. Theodore H. Rand, William Crocket, and Dr. James R. Inch. From 1872 to 1897 the number of schools increased from 884 to 1,737, the teachers from 918 to 1,829, and the pupils from 39,000 to 61,000.

In little Prince Edward Island conditions were not different in early times from those in the larger Provinces, and it was not until 1825 that its first Education Act was passed. The year 1852 saw the establishment of a free school system and, in 1860, the Prince of Wales' College was opened at Charlottetown. There were 121 schools in 1841 and 531 in 1891; 4,356 pupils in the former year and 22,138 in the latter. To sum up the situation in these Provinces, it may be said that everywhere prior to Confederation similar conditions existed and everywhere the same beneficial results have since followed the establishment of free schools, the formation of Normal Schools for the training of teachers, the taxation of the people for educational matters, their enforced interest in school affairs, and the elevation and increased dignity given to the teaching profession.

Development along these lines in the North-West and British Columbia was naturally an affair of comparatively recent times. Such education as there was in earlier days came through the devoted activities of pioneer missionaries, such as the ministers of the Red River Settlement, Fathers Taché and Provencher, the Rev. John West, the Rev. Dr. John Black, and many others who spread themselves in a thin line of labor and self-sacrifice over a vast extent of territory stretching to the Pacific Ocean. In Manitoba the system since 1890 has been a free school and undenominational one. There were sixteen Protestant schools in 1877 and seventeen Catholic schools, and, in 1890, these had increased to 628 and 91 respectively. Since the new system was inaugurated considerable progress has been made, and, in 1897, there were

1,018 public schools with an expenditure of $810,000. The system in the Territories includes a Council of Public Instruction of a somewhat mixed character and of very recent formation. There are four members of the Government upon the Council and four appointed members from outside—two Protestants and two Catholics. Progress has been excellent, especially in view of the immense areas under Territorial jurisdiction, and the schools in operation have increased, between 1886 and 1896, from 76 to 366; the enrolled pupils from 2,553 to 12,796; the teachers from 84 to 433 and Legislative expenditure from $8,900 to $126,000.

British Columbia had practically no educational system prior to 1872. Up to that time both the earlier efforts of the Hudson's Bay Company on Vancouver Island and the later ones of the Legislature had been unsuccessful. The Public School Act of the year mentioned, however, established a defined system which was improved by legislation in 1879, 1891, and 1896. There is a Minister of Education as well as a Superintendent of Education, but the general character of the arrangements are not materially different from those in other Provinces. In 1872 there were 25 school districts which had increased to 193 in 1896; an average daily attendance of 575 as against one of 9,254; an expenditure of $36,000 as against $204,000. There are a large number of Indian schools in the Province under denominational control, and, though it is without a University, the Roman Catholics have two Colleges for boys and various Academies, while the Methodists have a College at New Westminster. The only University from Lake Superior to the shores of the Pacific is the University of Manitoba at Winnipeg. It originated, practically, from the Anglican Red River Academy of pioneer days, and was organized in 1877 with University powers and as a federated institution which included St. John's College (the old-time Academy), Manitoba College under Presbyterian auspices, the College of St. Boniface under Catholic control, and Wesley College under Methodist guidance. Archbishop Machray, the Anglican Primate of

Canada, has been its Chancellor for many years and has had much to do with its history and success.

During all these educational developments in the Provinces the factor of sectarian strife has had a more or less pronounced effect. In Quebec it took the early form of antagonism between the hierarchy and the founders of McGill University, but finally mellowed down into a condition in which Laval has become the centre of Catholic higher education and McGill of Protestant attendance. Little conflict has existed in modern times between the elementary school sections and they have worked quietly along their own distinct and marked lines. In Ontario the earlier struggles were between the dominant and dominating Church of England, which desired—as in the Motherland—to control the Universities. This desire led to the long political conflict over the constitution and functions of King's College, or, as it afterward became, the University of Toronto. It also caused the formation of various denominational Colleges and Universities. A later struggle, in the years preceding Confederation, was fought over the Catholic desire for Separate Schools—a wish which was realized in the legislation of 1862 and crystallized in the pact of Confederation and the subsequent amendments of the Mowat Government. In the Maritime Provinces the struggle for supremacy in educational matters by the Church of England resulted in a division of forces and opinion which led to the foundation of Dalhousie University in antagonism to King's College and the creation of Acadia College in opposition to both. The Mount Sackville institution was, in the same, way a New Brunswick protest against the original Anglicanism of its University at Fredericton. The conflicts were bitter and eventually went against the Church of England principle, but, instead of resulting in a unified system of secular higher education in each of the Provinces, as should logically have been the case, it has simply caused the multiplication of denominational colleges at the expense of the now secularized older institutions and at the expense, in many cases, of general efficiency and success.

RELIGIOUS HISTORY AND PROGRESS

The religious progress of Canada since pioneer days is a subject of fascinating interest. It has worked in different ways into the very warp and woof of Canadian history and finds a place, through denominational rivalry, in almost every Canadian branch of popular development. In Quebec, the Roman Catholic Church has guided and modified and controlled the institutions of the Province, the habits and customs of the French race, the morals and politics and loyalty of the people. It helped Lord Dorchester to save the country to the Crown in 1776; it supported Great Britain with strenuous efforts in 1812; it modified and checked the revolutionary movement of 1837; it stood by the proposals for Confederation in 1867; it largely backed up the Conservative party in its principles of expansion and protection and railway development up to 1891; it opposed the movement in favor of Commercial Union with the United States. It had a place in the Jesuits Estates question, a pronounced share in the Riel issue, an important part in the New Brunswick School question, and a still more vital share in the Manitoba School matter.

The Church of England in all the English Provinces was a dominant power in earlier days, an influence for loyalty to the Crown, for education in the love of British institutions, for adherence to rule by a governing Loyalist class, for devotion to the policy of British Governors. It held a high place in the Government of all the Provinces—not excepting Catholic Quebec—prior to the Rebellion; it had a strong interest in the stormy question of the Clergy Reserves; it held a vigorous position in matters of education; it did much, in cooperation with the Roman Catholic Church, to pioneer Western religious activities; it was for half a century the Church of the classes, the support of old-time Toryism, the strength of a social system which was not without great benefit to a new community and crude conditions of life.

The Methodist denomination had a pronounced place in the

hearts of later settlers from the United States and the United Kingdom. It was the early root and home of Canadian radicalism, the centre of opposition to Toryism, the embodiment of steady and severe missionary labors, the cause of bitter political controversy in educational matters and in such political issues as the Clergy Reserves. It held intimate associations with American Methodism, and, up to 1812, a great part of its ministers were American, while its polity and principles and preaching were also American in style, and, too often, in advocacy and patriotism. After the war, when many of its pulpits were vacated by American citizens returning to their own country, the English element became predominant, and, in 1828, the Canadian Methodist Conference was finally declared independent of the American Church. It had many ups and downs after this time and was divided upon political issues in later years by Dr. Egerton Ryerson, but always, and everywhere in the Provinces, it continued to exercise a strong influence in public affairs.

Presbyterianism was never such a political factor as were the three divisions of Christianity just referred to. Its polity was too severe in tone and practice and its ministers too conservative, in a non-partisan sense, to constitute what might be termed a semi-political denomination. Methodism was essentially a militant and missionary denomination in Canadian history; Presbyterianism was more of a strong, pervading influence among men of a single nationality. Its divisions were not so numerous as in the other case, and, prior to the Disruption in Scotland, the "Kirk" often stood side by side with the Church of England as a silent factor for the preservation of old traditions and in simple antagonism to democratic innovation. The chief political issue with which it was mixed up was that of the Clergy Reserves, just as the one public question in which the strong Baptist denomination of the Maritime Provinces was concerned was that of secular education.

In all these religious divisions the controversies of the Old Land were reproduced with more or less fidelity. The Church

of England disputed in the latter half of the century over forms and ceremonies of High or Low Church practice just as they did in England. Methodism was divided into the Primitive Methodist Church, the Bible Christian Church, and the Wesleyan Methodist Church, while its American affiliations and Canadian position brought into existence the New Methodist-Episcopal Church and the Methodist New Connection. Presbyterianism had its Church of Scotland in Canada, its Free Church Synod, its Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces, its United Presbyterian Church, its Canada Presbyterian Church.

If, however, the denominations shared in the shaded differences of thought and creed which came to them from the Old Land, they also shared, immensely and beneficially, in the financial benefactions of the British Churches and of the great missionary Societies; while the Church of England received large sums from the British Parliament well on into the nineteenth century. Up to 1833, when a gradual reduction was begun, the Imperial Parliament granted £16,000 a year for the maintenance of this Church in British America and many other sums were paid from time to time. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was indefatigable in its missionary work and spent large sums in extending the Episcopate, endowing missionary clergy, and aiding struggling parishes in the different Provinces. The Society for Propagating the Gospel was more than a benefactor, it was almost the parent of the Church of England in Canada. Its expenditure between 1703 and 1892 in British America was $8,930,925, and from 1820 to 1865 its annual expenditure seldom went below $100,000. The Church Missionary Society was another stanch supporter of Anglicanism in Canada. The various Methodist Churches were also largely aided by funds from London and their early English missionaries were almost entirely supported from that source. So with the Presbyterian denominations and the well-known Glasgow Colonial Society and its practical work between 1825 and 1840.

The progress and personnel of these Churches have a most

interesting record—the former because of the light it throws upon general religious conditions, the latter because of the influence it had upon public development and affairs. The Roman Catholic Church holds the chief place in numbers as well as in length of historic association with Canadian soil. As the French population of Quebec has increased, so have its adherents, and with this increase has come a similar expansion and expression of missionary zeal in the far West and in all the Provinces. The Catholic population of Quebec in 1783 has been placed at 113,000 by the Church itself. In 1830 it was at least half a million, with about 50,000 in Upper Canada. In 1851 the Church had 746,854 adherents in Lower Canada; in 1871, just after Confederation, it had 1,019,850; and in 1891 1,291,709. In Ontario, its adherents numbered in the years mentioned 167,695, 274,166, and 358,300 respectively. In the three Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island it had, at nearly the same periods,* 181,561, 238,459, and 286,250 adherents. The Western figures are of recent date and show that in Manitoba, the Territories, and British Columbia the total Catholic population in 1881 was 26,000 in round numbers, and, in 1891, 53,000. This gives a round total, for what is now the Dominion, of 1,080,000 Roman Catholics in 1851, 1,530,000 in 1871, and 2,000,000 in 1891—an increase of half a million in every two decades.

The leaders of the Church during this period have had much to do with its success. In Quebec the militant Laval and loyal Plessis were succeeded by a series of eminent men, of whom Archbishops Turgeon and Baillargeon of Quebec, Cardinal Taschereau, the first Canadian Prince of his Church, and Archbishops Bourget and Fabre of Montreal, were perhaps the chief. Bishop Guigues of Ottawa, Mgr. Provencher and Archbishop Taché of Manitoba, Archbishops Lynch and Walsh of Toronto, Archbishop Cleary of Kings-

* The earliest figures obtainable in New Brunswick are for 1861 and in Prince Edward Island for 1848. This statement also applies to the statistics given at the end of this chapter.

ton, Archbishops Connolly and O'Brien of Halifax, Mgr. McKinnon of Antigonish, and Bishop Demers of Vancouver Island, were the most representative successors of Macdonell and Burke and others of pioneer days. An important incident of ecclesiastical history in Canada in this connection has been the influence exercised by the Pope, at times, over its affairs. In 1877, Mgr. George Conroy was sent out to the Dominion as an Apostolic Ablegate to arrange the long-standing disputes between Laval University, in Quebec, and its branch in Montreal. In 1888, Mgr. Smueldres was despatched largely in connection with the same troubles and partly to soothe certain Diocesan difficulties. Mgr. Raffaele Merry del Val was sent, in 1897, to report upon the Manitoba School question, and to prevent further agitation among the hierarchy if it should seem desirable. In 1899, Mgr. Diomede Falconio was appointed in a more permanent capacity to act, apparently, as the Pope's adviser upon Canadian affairs.

Meanwhile, the great Protestant denominations had been expanding in various directions under the most strenuous exertions by their leaders. The Church of England was led in Quebec by such heroes of the missionary field as Bishop Jacob Mountain, Bishop George J. Mountain, and Bishop Charles James Stewart, and by such religious organizers as Dr. Williams and Dr. Fulford—the latter the first Metropolitan of Canada. In Ontario, the Rev. Dr. John Stuart, and the strenuous personality of Bishop Strachan, were prominent. In the Maritime Provinces, Dr. Charles Inglis, the first Colonial Bishop, and whose See for a time included all British America, Dr. John Inglis, also Bishop of Nova Scotia, Dr. Hibbert Binney, Bishop of the same Province, and Dr. John Medley, Bishop of Fredericton during forty-seven years, worked steadily in the foundation and development of the Church. So with Bishop Anderson and Archbishop Machray at Fort Garry and Winnipeg, Bishop Horden in the far-away Territories, Bishop Sillitoe in British Columbia, and Bishop Bompas in the distant Yukon.

Methodism in Canada boasts pioneer laborers such as William Case, James Richardson, Henry Ryan, John Reynolds, John Davison, Egerton Ryerson, John Carroll, Anson Green, William Black—men of immense energy, deep spiritual enthusiasm, and the highest powers of endurance. In later and quieter days the Church—which became one great united body from ocean to ocean in 1883—boasted scholars and orators such as Dr. Mathew Richey, Dr. Enoch Wood, Dr. William Morley Punshon, Dr. George Douglas, Dr. S. D. Rice, Dr. J. A. Williams, Dr. Albert Carman, Dr. W. H. Withrow. Presbyterianism in its personnel has hardly had the same pioneer variety of attainment, except in the cases of Dr. James McGregor in Nova Scotia, Dr. John Cook in Quebec, and Dr. John Black in the far West. In the later days men of great ability or learning such as Dr. Alexander Mathieson, Dr. Robert Burns, Dr. Alexander Topp, Dr. John Jenkins, Dr. William Reid, Dr. William Gregg, Dr. J. M. King, Dr. William Caven, and Dr. Alexander MacKnight appeared on the scene. The actual and statistical progress of these three great Churches since missionary days can be seen at a glance from the following three tables:

I. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

	1851	1871	1891
Ontario	223,190	330,995	385,999
Quebec	44,682	62,449	75,472
Maritime Provinces	85,421	107,844	114,151
	353,293	501,288	575,622

The Western Provinces increased from 25,000 Anglican adherents in 1881 to 68,000 in 1891.

II. THE METHODIST DENOMINATION

	1851	1871	1891
Ontario	213,365	462,264	654,033
Quebec	21,199	34,100	39,544
Maritime Provinces	54,164	81,797	103,295
	288,728	578,161	796,872

The Western figures were 13,000 in 1881 and 51,000 in 1891.

III. PRESBYTERIANISM

	1851	1871	1891
Ontario	204,148	356,442	453,147
Quebec	33,470	46,165	52,673
Maritime Provinces	129,158	171,970	182,483
	366,776	574,577	688,303

The increase in the West was from 19,000 in 1881 to 67,000 in 1891. From these and preceding figures it is seen that, in round numbers, the Roman Catholic faith increased its adherents in all the Canadian Provinces, between 1851 and 1891, by 1,000,000 souls, the Church of England by 290,000, the Methodist denomination by 460,000, and the Presbyterian Church by 388,000. It will be seen, incidentally, that the Church of greatest prominence and influence in early English-speaking Canada has made the least comparative progress of all the chief divisions of Christianity in the country during the last half of the nineteenth century; and it will also be easily perceived how large a place the progress of Roman Catholicism gives that faith in the population of the Dominion.

LITERARY AND JOURNALISTIC PROGRESS

Literature has not wielded a very great influence in the history of Canada. The earlier settlers had to pay almost undivided attention to their activities in field and forest, on lake and river. The axe of the settler, the rafts of the lumberman, the canoe of the *voyageur,* the musket of the hunter, embodied the practical and necessary aims of the people. Later on they developed keen political proclivities, and the press and the pamphlet took the place of books and what is generally regarded as literature. There were a few prominent names, and a few works which have lived, and they are chiefly found among the French Canadians. They had cultivated poetry and music and song, and the lighter graces of life long before such developments had penetrated the forests of Ontario or the Atlantic wilderness. Charlevoix, Bi-

baud, Ferland, Faillon, De Gaspé, Gérin-Lajoie must be mentioned. Robert Christie and Henry H. Miles in Quebec, John Mercier McMullen in Ontario, Murdoch, Campbell, Gesner, and Archer in the Maritime Provinces, were historians who did good work in the English language. Then came the period brightened by the pen of Thomas Chandler Haliburton, the inimitable "Sam Slick," the founder of a distinct school of humor, the best known of Canadian writers up to very recent times.

Canadian literature became voluminous after the middle period marked by the pens of Henry J. Morgan, W. J. Rattray, Alpheus Todd, Edmund Collins, John Charles Dent, George Stewart, Heavysege, Sangster, and McLachlan. Dr. William Kingsford as a historian, Sir John George Bourinot as a constitutional authority and historian, Charles G. D. Roberts as a poet and novelist, Archibald Lampman and W. Wilfrid Campbell as poets of high quality, William Kirby as author of "Le Chien D'Or," Sara Jeanette Duncan, Lily Dougall, Robert Barr, William McLennan, S. Francis Harrison as novelists, Louis Frechette as the chief of French-Canadian poets, Gilbert Parker as one of the world's novel writers, Benjamin Sulte, Lieutenant-Colonel George T. Denison, and Dr. George R. Parkin all hold marked places in the literary life of Canada. There are very many more who might and should be mentioned in poetry, science, biography, and history, and all the varied branches of literature, but enough have been given to indicate that Canada in this, as in other respects, has grown out of the Colonial stage and taken its place in the stream of the world's contribution to published thought and fancy, expression and fact.

In journalism Canada has hardly held its place in comparison with other branches of development. It always has excelled in vigor and force of expression, but has failed in culture and breadth of view. Some of its historic names are those of Joseph Howe, George Brown, Egerton Ryerson, Francis Hincks, William Annand, William Elder, John Livingston, Etienne Parent, J. B. E. Dorion, Méderic Lanctot,

Joseph Doutré, J. E. Cauchon, Ronald Macdonald, Raphael Bellemare, Thomas White, John Cameron, John Reade, George Murray, E. Goff Penny, Peter Mitchell, John Dougall, David Kinnear, D'Arcy McGee, William Lyon Mackenzie, James Lesslie, William McDougall, Hugh Scobie, George Sheppard, Daniel Morrison, Samuel Thompson, J. Gordon Brown, T. C. Patterson, William Fisher Luxton, Nicholas Flood Davin, D. W. Higgins, and John Robson. From the Atlantic to the Pacific these names range up through the stormy politics of a century. Many of the men mentioned became also eminent in other spheres and all possessed distinct ability.

But distance from the high standards of British journalistic life; proximity to the sensationalism of the United States press; developments arising from localism of character and narrowness of view; lack of capital and a large constituency, tended to greatly weaken the influence and standing of Canadian newspapers and to hamper the true and best progress of the press. Toward the end of the century these causes have largely passed away, and, though much room still exists for improvement, the greater newspapers of Canada are creditable to the ability and knowledge of those in charge. When they have been made thoroughly Canadian in fact and character by the creation of a Canadian news service in Europe and a declaration of independence from American news agencies there, another mile-stone on the path of progress will have been passed.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL PROSPERITY

THE Provinces of French and British Canada up to the Conquest were largely fur-trading communities. Their exports were the products of the chase or of the skilful labors of hunters and trappers in the wilds of the West. Under the French régime, and especially from

1660 to 1760, the country now called Quebec, and stretching far down into the heart of the Mississippi Valley, was in the hands of a practically close corporation which controlled the trade and taxes and distribution of all products. Special monopolies in the fur-trade, or in the farming of the revenues, were given from time to time by the French King. Such conditions had a naturally restrictive and injurious effect upon individual enterprise, and the progress of commercial interchange was, therefore, seriously retarded. Parkman tells us that in 1674, for instance, merchants not residents in the Colony "were forbidden to sell any goods at retail except in August, September, and October; to trade anywhere in Canada above Quebec, and to sell clothing or domestic articles ready-made. No person, resident or not, could trade with the English Colonies and foreign commerce of any kind was stiffly prohibited." In 1719, the authorities were empowered to search houses for foreign goods and to burn them publicly, while ships engaged in foreign trade were to be treated as pirates.

When Great Britain took possession of the country in 1763 its trade was, consequently, chiefly confined to furs and the products of the forest. Agriculture had made little progress and manufactures were non-existent—except those of the hand-loom and of home composition. With the accession of British rule came the British fiscal system. Canadians could now trade freely with the Thirteen Colonies, although there was little real demand for commercial exchange. In addition to this, all British possessions were governed by the same Navigation Laws and regulations against trading with foreign countries, or in foreign vessels, which were beginning to prove so irritating to the men of the Atlantic seaboard. Very soon, therefore, almost the entire Canadian trade had passed from the hands of France to the hands of England. By 1808 the figures for Upper and Lower Canada were £1,776,000 sterling, of which the greater part represented British business. Furs, wheat, flour, timber, and fish were the chief exports, and of the imports £200,000 were

manufactured goods and £100,000 were tea, tobacco, and provisions. In this year there were 333 vessels engaged in the external trade of the Provinces, while, in 1830, 967 vessels arrived at the port of Quebec alone.

During these years and up to 1846, the Motherland gave every possible encouragement to Colonial trade. If she restricted its expansion in foreign channels she made up for the action, and more than made up for it, by tariffs which gave immense preferences to Canadian products over those of other countries—lumber over that of the Baltic, and wheat over that of the United States, for instance. In 1845 the Imperial tariff showed a preference given to wheat of 18s. charged foreign countries as against 2s. to 5s. charged the Colonies: to horses and oxen of 21s. as against 10s.; to cheese of 11s. as against 2s. 7d. These instances might be indefinitely extended. In the following year, however, the Corn Laws and the Colonial preferences were alike abolished, and, after a preliminary crash and prolonged depression, the fiscal system of a Provincial revenue tariff, with touches of incidental protection, was established; Colonial trade was made open to the world and Colonial tariffs given, by a sort of gradually broadening process, into the control of Colonial Governments. Up to 1878, the tariffs of the Provinces and then of the Dominion remained largely of a revenue nature—with the exception of Mr. Galt's policy in 1858-1859 in the Canadas. Since 1878 the tariff of Canada has been a protective one, pure and simple, with, however, a preference granted to British goods from and after 1898.

INTER-PROVINCIAL TRADE

In all this period, and up to the beginning of the fourth quarter in the nineteenth century, there was little real trade between the Provinces of British America. The North-West and the Pacific Coast were hopelessly barred by distance, by the influence of a great corporation, and by geographical obstacles, from the Lake and Atlantic Provinces. Lower Canada and the Maritime Provinces naturally followed the lines

of least resistance and of tariff encouragement and traded with England. Upper Canada exchanged its goods and products in a very considerable frontier trade. When the Reciprocity Treaty came, trade developed steadily with the United States in preference to England and even against the other Provinces. Tariffs were imposed by the Provinces, from the time of the abolition of the Corn Laws until Confederation, against each other. It was natural, therefore, that during the Reciprocity period, when people were growing rich on American trade and war necessities and found their foreign commerce jumping up by leaps and bounds, that trade between Canada and the Maritime Provinces should be small and show little change—in 1855 it was $1,889,428 and in 1866 $2,429,038.

Confederation consequently started with a tiny traffic among the Provinces and with the very large trade, comparatively, of $75,000,000 between the Provinces and the American Republic. After that time, what might be called the home trade grew, but very slowly, for a decade. Reciprocity was, of course, a fact as between the various divisions of the Dominion and in vivid contrast to the previous condition of reciprocity with a foreign country and Inter-Provincial tariffs. But the new Dominion tariff was not made so as to encourage trade among the neighboring Provinces and it still tended southward to the magnet of a large population and the attraction of great industries which steadily expanded as the time of war and strife receded into the distance.

A Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1877 to inquire into the situation, but the anti-protectionist party was still in power and the Report could only express academic wishes for cheaper transportation and increased trade. Then came the establishment of the National Policy of protection and the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Another Committee of the House was appointed in 1883, and, after exhaustive inquiry, they reported that the purchases of the Maritime Provinces had

increased from $1,200,000 in 1866 to $22,000,000 in 1882. The trade in fish from Nova Scotia westward had "developed to very large proportions, and as far west as Montreal a very considerable trade is already done in fish and oils and in West Indian goods and coal."

Exact information, either then or now, is, however, difficult to obtain upon this point. There are no tariffs to draw upon for facts, and figures have to be largely estimates. But we know that from this time onward the business between the Provinces, both east and west, greatly and steadily increased. Canadian manufactured goods held their own home market from Halifax to Vancouver, and, as the country grew in population, wealth and transportation facilities, the value of this market naturally developed. Iron and steel manufactures from Nova Scotia came up to the inland Provinces. Cotton and other goods of New Brunswick reached the markets of Ontario. Farm implements and various products of industrial activity from Ontario poured into the North-West. Boots and shoes from Quebec supplied part of the Ontario market. The fish of the Atlantic and Pacific came west and east in expanding quantities. Nova Scotia coal supplied Quebec more and more largely, and Ontario in a small measure. Indications of this increasing Inter-Provincial traffic are found in the coasting trade, which grew 10,000,000 tons in volume between 1887 and 1896; in the freight carried by railways, which increased 8,000,000 tons during the same period; in the shipments of food products sent from Montreal to the Maritime Province ports, which have expanded very largely in recent years; in the freight carried by the Inter-Colonial Railway, which grew from 421,000 tons in 1877 to 1,379,000 in 1896 and is chiefly Inter-Provincial traffic. While, therefore, estimates only are possible in bulk, the evidences of a large increase in this internal trade are sufficiently clear to warrant Mr. George Johnson, the Dominion Statistician, in making elaborate calculations and deductions from which, in 1899, he placed the total trade interchange among the Provinces at $80,000,000.

A great and growing source of prosperity to Canada, in and about the year 1900, has been its mines. Iron and coal, lead, copper, nickel, mica, silver, gold, asbestos, and various other minerals, exist in immense quantities, and some of them were long known to be products of British America. But difficulties of transportation, of mining, and of smelting the ore, and alarm as to the nature of the climate—coupled with general ignorance abroad concerning the vast resources which only a few knew anything about authoritatively—combined to prevent much being done until near the end of the century. British Columbia, it is true, shared in the California gold boom of the "fifties," its placer gold was pretty thoroughly explored and exploited, and, in time, some $50,000,000 worth of gold dust was extracted from its streams and valleys. This, however, was merely skimming the surface. Nova Scotia, for many years, kept up a small, steady, and paying production of gold and coal, while salt and petroleum were long substantial products of Ontario. An increasing consumption of Canadian coal was also visible as the years went on and tariffs were so arranged as to help Nova Scotia in the other Provinces. The exports of this product rose, very slowly, from 265,000 tons in 1868 to 1,140,000 tons in 1899. But this production of coal only touched the surface of the vast resources which are now known to exist in Nova Scotia, in British Columbia, and in the North-West Territories.

Every effort has latterly been made by fiscal legislation and bounties—notably in Sir Charles Tupper's policy of 1883—to encourage iron and steel industries in Canada; but without very marked effect until the later "nineties," when blast furnaces began to increase in number and production in almost every part of Canada and especially in Nova Scotia, Ontario, and British Columbia. The great Canadian development of this last decade has, however, been that of gold production. In 1894, the total for all Canada was $1,128,688, and at about that figure it had stood for twenty years. In 1896 it was $2,754,774, in the next year over $6,000,000, in 1898 $13,000,000, and, in 1899 over $21,000,000. The

main cause of this expansion was the discovery and development of the great Yukon District in respect of its boundless resources in gold-seamed ore. There was also the discovery of gold in the Lake of the Woods region of Ontario and the immense wealth in the same connection which was found to exist at Rossland and throughout the Kootenay District of British Columbia. Between 1896 and 1899 the gold production of the Yukon, known to Canadian authorities, increased from $300,000 to $16,000,000, and the quantity of gold dust carried away yearly by American miners, and uncontrolled by the Government, must have made the figures of total production double the latter amount. Silver has also been found to be a large product of Canada, though not in later years a very profitable one, while nickel in great masses has been found along the northern shores of Lake Superior and is being rapidly developed as a result of inflowing British and American capital. The total figures of mineral production in the Dominion speak for themselves and amounted to a total value of $10,000,000 in 1893, $22,000,000 in 1896, and $48,000,000 in 1899.

Meanwhile, the farmer and the farmer's position had been changing greatly. The pioneer log-houses and shanties of the older Provinces had given place to comfortable farmhouses and large barns. The forest and wilderness had been replaced by smiling fields, or gardens, or fruit farms. The wooden home-made furniture of early times had disappeared, and even the antique relics of pre-Revolutionary days discarded for newly manufactured articles largely made in Canada; and, from the ever-popular organ to the horse-hair sofa, everything in the farmhouses had begun to breathe of a newer and cheaper age. The era of machinery came also and did away with the workingman, who, in large farms, had almost constituted villages in themselves. The rush and roar of the latter end of the nineteenth century has affected the young men of the farms and drawn many of them into the teeming cities of the American States, or to the growing centres of Ontario itself. The boom of Western progress attracted

others and many a mortgage upon the homesteads of Ontario owed its origin to the settlement of sons in Manitoba or upon the Western plains. The question of the farmer's progress or otherwise is, therefore, a debatable one.

The area for his work, the opportunities of agriculture, the facilities for production, have all immensely increased. In Ontario, or Upper Canada as it then was, the area occupied in 1826 was 3,353,000 acres and the cultivated area 599,000 acres; in 1841 the figures for the one were 6,868,000 and for the other 1,811,000; in 1891 the former amounted to 21,091,000 acres, the latter to 14,157,000 acres. This is an enormous expansion for a Provincial population which only increased, in round numbers, from half a million to two millions. Added to this was the opening up of the vast wheat-fields of the West, the splendid ranching country of the Territories, the fruit-bearing regions of British Columbia. With it also came the development in cattle production marked by an export of live cattle to Great Britain in the four years, 1875-78, which was valued at $1,118,000, and in 1895-98 at $27,552,000; the expansion in the cheese industry from an export of $620,000 in 1868 to one of $16,776,000 in 1899; the growth of the export trade in bacon and hams from $783,000 in 1868 to $10,416,478 in 1899; the fact of a total shipment to Great Britain of cattle, horses, and sheep, between 1874 and 1897, valued at $180,000,000.

Against these evident marks and signs of progress must be recorded the increase of debt and mortgages, the more expensive habits and style of living, the decrease in prices and values of property, marked in Ontario by a diminution in the value of farm lands of $92,000,000 between 1886 and 1898. Upon the whole, however, the Canadian farmer may be said, at the end of the nineteenth century, to be better off than most of his world-wide competitors and to possess enough of comforts and a sufficient absence of nature's abnormal incidents —hurricanes, insect pests, floods, and climatic disasters of different kinds—to mark him out a fairly fortunate man.

RAILWAYS, CANALS, AND SHIPPING

In the matter of railways, Canada has made progress during its last fifty years of history which should be sufficient to stamp its people as an enterprising and capable population. When Confederation brought the scattered Provinces together there were only two thousand miles of railway, largely in Ontario, and dreams of something better. Then came the construction and rapid completion of the Inter-Colonial Railway, connecting the Atlantic towns with the City of Quebec and ultimately with Montreal; the struggle for and final creation of the trans-continental line which has made the Dominion a national unit in all matters of transportation and intercommunication; the building of many other lines in all the Provinces and the formation of a general system which has made the country a network of busy railways, running into every important nook and corner, and totaling up, in 1899, to over seventeen thousand miles of track. With this period and part of the country's development the names of Sir William Van Horne and Mr. T. G. Shaughnessy in the later history and management of the Canadian Pacific; those of Charles J. Brydges, Sir Joseph Hickson, and Charles M. Hays in the building up of the Grand Trunk system; those of George Laidlaw, F. C. Capreol, and Lieutenant-Colonel F. W. Cumberland, in the construction of lesser lines; those of Sir Sandford Fleming, Thomas C. Keefer, and Walter Shanly, as engineers in charge of construction, were intimately connected and should be remembered and recorded with honor. The bulk of the expansion was effected between 1875 and 1890, and, after the latter date, the progress continued to be steady and sure. In 1875 the train mileage was, in round numbers, seventeen millions, in 1899 it was fifty-two millions. The number of passengers rose in the same period from five to nineteen millions, the tons of freight carried from five to thirty-one millions, the earnings from nineteen to sixty-two millions of dollars, the working expenses from fifteen to forty millions.

Meanwhile, the canal system which connects the Great Lakes with the St. Lawrence and thence, through a reasonable deepening of the river itself at certain points, with the Atlantic, developed steadily and at great cost. Canal construction had been an evident necessity from the earliest period of British occupation in the country, and, even before the division of the Province in 1791, it was urgently advocated. In 1815, a Legislative effort was made to begin the work by making the Lachine Canal above Montreal, but without success, and it was not until six years later that operations really commenced. Toward its construction the British Government contributed $400,000, and the same Government defrayed almost the entire expense of building the Rideau Canal between Ottawa and Kingston—$3,911,000—as well as giving $222,000 to aid the Welland Canal project. Very slowly other improvements in the St. Lawrence navigation were effected. The Beauharnois Canal was opened in 1845, and some fifty years later replaced by the Soulanges Canal; the Cornwall was opened in 1843; the Williamsburg Series of three canals was completed in 1856; the Welland Canal, after prolonged pioneer work by the Hon. William Hamilton Merritt and many political and financial difficulties and failures, was commenced in 1821, and sufficiently completed to permit of its use a dozen years later. The Richelieu Canals, connecting the St. Lawrence with Hudson River *via* the Richelieu and Lake Champlain, were practically commenced, after much controversy, in 1835, and were in a sort of working order by 1843.

None of these works, however, was really completed at the time of opening. Changes and enlargements and improvements and, sometimes, complete renewals had to be effected. The Provinces were poor, and, up to the Union in 1841, Lower Canada would do little or nothing to encourage developments of this nature. Its public men were too busy fighting for fancies and warring against wind-mills to care about coming down to practical everyday considerations, such as the promotion of transportation facilities. Besides, such ac-

tion might have helped the detested English merchant, and this could hardly be a popular possibility to the French demagogue of 1820-37. Much, however, was done by men like the Hon. John Young, Sir Hugh Allan, and W. Hamilton Merritt, and, between 1841 and Confederation, considerable progress was made and a total of $21,000,000 expended. The foundation had, in fact, been laid, and, after 1867, money was freely spent—to the tune of $34,000,000 up to 1889—in deepening, enlarging, and strengthening the system. A uniform depth of fourteen feet in the whole vast waterway has been aimed at, and, in 1897, over $4,000,000 more were voted by Parliament to complete this policy.

The development of transportation upon lake and river and ocean has had a most important influence upon Canadian progress. The Indian birch-bark canoe was early replaced by the French *bateau* and the Durham flat-bottomed boat. Upon the Great Lakes, also, sailing vessels of various kinds soon found a place in the stunted commerce of the period. The immense number of rivers and the absence of roads made water transport naturally popular with the pioneer traders, although the absence of canals and deepening facilities rendered a great deal of *portaging*—the carrying of boats over or around an obstruction—necessary. The first steamer plying between Montreal and Quebec, on the St. Lawrence, was built by Mr. John Molson in 1811, and twelve years later there were a dozen of them. In 1816, Lake Ontario saw its first steamer in the *Frontenac,* built at a cost of $75,000, and within twenty years from that time all the larger bodies of water throughout the country had steamboats plying between the principal ports. With Mr. Molson in the pioneer labors of this development were chiefly associated John and David Torrance, Sir Hugh Allan, and the Hon. John Hamilton. The first steamer on the Red River in the far West commenced operations in 1859; on the Pacific Coast the first to ply between its various fur-bearing posts of the Hudson's Bay Company was the *Beaver,* which came out in 1835 from England—after being launched by King

William IV in the presence of a great gathering of people. In the Atlantic Provinces, the splendid harbor of Halifax was first entered by a steamer on August 31, 1831, when the *Royal William* steamed in from Quebec and entered upon its career as the pioneer steamship of the vast Atlantic traffic of the end of the century.

Nine years later the Cunard line, founded by Sir Samuel Cunard, commenced to call at Halifax, though it soon afterward made New York its American terminus. The first coasting steamer of this region had been launched at St. John in 1816. In the year 1900 there are many lines of steamships running from Quebec, Montreal, Halifax, or St. John to Great Britain, the United States, the West Indies, South America, and Newfoundland; while from Vancouver, on the Pacific, similar lines run to the American Pacific cities, to Honolulu, Australia, Hong-Kong, and Japan. Of these various transportation agencies, the Allan Line was started in 1852 by Mr. Hugh Allan, the Dominion Line in 1870, the Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Company in 1845. The latter was reorganized in 1882 by Mr. L. A. Senecal, a noted figure in the financial life of Quebec. The Canadian Pacific Railway Lines were started on the Pacific in 1891, and preceded by large boats upon the Great Lakes under the same management. By the year 1896, the Canadian tonnage arriving at Canadian ports included 6,810 vessels of 1,067,000 tons, 1,684 British vessels of 2,350,000 tons, and 6,797 foreign vessels of 5,845,000 tons.

The shipbuilding industry had, of course, an intimate connection with Canadian development along these lines. The immense inland resources of forest and timber made Quebec and the Atlantic Coast ideal places for building ships in the days before iron and steel had worked their industrial and naval revolution. As far back as 1672, Talon, the eminent Intendant of New France, ordered the building of a ship at Quebec. During the century which followed, mainly under the French *régime,* shipbuilding was but a fitful pursuit, as were all industrial and commercial matters in that period.

After 1787, however, the trade revived and increased from a production of 10 ships of 933 tons in that year to 84 ships of 21,616 tons in 1875—a total during the whole period of 3,873 ships, with a tonnage of 1,285,000. Latterly the trade has diminished, but, at Quebec as in Nova Scotia, it is not improbable that modern constructive materials and methods will yet revive the old glories of the industry. In the latter Province, the palmy days of shipbuilding were in the middle of the nineteenth century, when Halifax, Yarmouth, Windsor, and Pictou were great centres of production, and Nova Scotia bottoms were to be found in every port of the maritime world. Decay has come to the industry since 1882, and the only hope of revival lies in the utilization of the coal and iron which lie side by side, almost upon the coast, and might well form the basis of a great future in iron and steel shipbuilding.

BANKING DEVELOPMENT

Canadian general progress owes much to the banking system of the Dominion. Like every other interest or institution in the country, it has experienced ups and downs and faced difficulties and dangers. When the Quebec Bank and Bank of Montreal were started in 1817, in the then chief centres of trade and business, the banking of the country consisted in managing its shipments of furs and transport of timber and in lending money to the men engaged in operations which covered thousands of miles of wilderness in Upper Canada and the far West. In time other banks started. The Bank of British North America was established by London capitalists in 1836. The Bank of Upper Canada was organized in 1823 by men largely interested in the dominant party of that day and it continued during many years of great prosperity and eventual adversity to be somewhat of a political institution. The Commercial Bank of the Midland District, in the same Province, was formed in 1832 and others followed until, in 1859, after the commercial crisis of the preceding year had come and gone, there were fifteen banks in the Canadas with a capital of $24,000,000 as against

$3,000,000 when originally chartered. In the Maritime Provinces the Bank of Nova Scotia, one of the earliest and also one of the most notable institutions, was organized in 1832. In point of time it was preceded by the Bank of New Brunswick which had been incorporated in 1820.

Smaller institutions came and went in all the Provinces until, at Confederation in 1867, the Bank of Montreal with its twenty-nine branches and a capital of $6,000,000, the Bank of British North America with its twelve branches and capital of $4,866,000, the Commercial Bank of Canada with its eighteen branches and $4,000,000 capital, were the principal institutions. There were then twenty-eight banks, altogether, with 125 branches and a paid-up capital of $32,000,000. The system, as existing in that year, and not yet matured and consolidated by Federal legislation, was a product of varied experiments and experiences. The early banking of the country had been carried on by American methods; although, as time went on, the Scotch ideas of the founders came more and more into effect and the internal management of the banks largely followed British methods. The inauguration of the branch system strengthened this tendency and marked an important differentiation from American models. Still, there was a strong Legislative tendency to copy the United States in financial matters, and, from time to time, dangerous experiments were tried—such, for instance, as the suspension of specie payments in 1837 against which Sir Francis Bond Head had protested so vigorously and uselessly to his Upper Canadian Legislature. To the intervention at this time of the Imperial Government, the wise despatches of Lord Glenelg, Colonial Secretary, and the later series of regulations propounded by Lord John Russell, Canada owes much of the stability and success of its present system. The proposals of Lord J. Russell in 1840 form, in fact, the basis of Canadian banking charters and laws.

At Confederation, the Government was faced with the necessity of a thorough reorganization of the banking system of the country. Practically it had to be federalized and made

into a national institution. The preliminaries were gone into by the Finance Minister, Mr. (afterward Sir) John Rose, largely in consultation with Mr. E. H. King, who was then head of the Bank of Montreal and the leading banker in Canada. Influenced by Mr. King and, perhaps, by his own financial fancies, he proposed to establish what was, in the main, the American system of banking and currency. The proposals, as eventually presented to Parliament, excited the keenest controversy, were vigorously denounced by Mr. George Brown and the Toronto "Globe," and were eventually withdrawn. Sir Francis Hincks succeeded Mr. Rose in the Ministry of Finance and, in March, 1870, introduced a series of Resolutions which were finally passed and under which the existing system was established. Under succeeding Finance Ministers every decade has seen a revision and improvement of existing arrangements and Sir Leonard Tilley, Mr. George E. Foster, and Mr. W. S. Fielding have each had to do with this perfecting of banking legislation.

The statistical progress of banking since Confederation has been very great. The paid-up capital of Canadian banks has increased from $30,000,000 in 1868, in round numbers, to $62,000,000 in 1896; the notes in circulation from $9,000,000 to $31,000,000; the deposits from $33,000,000 to $193,000,000; the discounts from $52,000,000 to $213,000,000. The total assets in 1868 were $79,000,000 and the liabilities $45,000,000. In 1896 they were, respectively, $320,000,000 and $232,000,000. Some of the representative bankers in early days were Thomas G. Ridout of the Bank of Upper Canada and the successive General Managers of the Bank of Montreal—Benjamin Holmes, Alexander Simpson, David Davidson, and E. H. King. Later occupants of this position, as the bank rose into one of the three or four greatest financial institutions in the world, were, of course, men of much ability and wide influence. R. B. Angus, C. F. Smithers, W. J. Buchanan, and E. S. Clouston have, in their turn, had a substantial share in the development of Canada and one which the average historian is far too ready to overlook

in favor of the utterances of some prominent politician as he floats by on a passing wave of popular opinion. James Stevenson of the Quebec Bank, George Hague of the Merchants Bank, D. R. Wilkie of the Imperial Bank, Byron E. Walker of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, Thomas Fyshe of the Bank of Nova Scotia, are men of a later period and of considerable public influence.

In other directions Canadian development has been pronounced. Partly because of the protection given to its industries by the tariff and partly because of the growing efficiency of manufacturers and increase of population in the country, there has been considerable industrial development. In 1891, there were, according to the census returns, 75,941 manufacturing establishments in Canada, with a working capital of $181,000,000 and which employed 370,000 men, women, and children, paid out $100,000,000 in wages, used raw material to the value of $256,000,000 and had a total production valued at $476,000,000. An important national interest and industry of Canada has always been its fisheries, and sometimes they have also proved a factor of international importance. The fish of the Great Lakes, of the lesser bodies of water scattered in immense numbers throughout all the Provinces and, especially, in the far north and west, between Lake Superior, Hudson's Bay, and the Arctic Ocean, of the rivers flowing in all directions throughout the three million square miles of Canadian territory, are inexhaustible in variety and numbers.

The sea-fisheries on the Atlantic Coast of Canada are of great value though the annual average production does not exceed ten million dollars. Cod, herring, lobsters, salmon, haddock, halibut, and hake on the Atlantic, with seal and salmon on the Pacific and whitefish, salmon-trout, sturgeon, pickerel, pike, black-bass, perch, and carp in the lakes and rivers, are the most numerous and best known products of these varied waters. Since 1869 the value of the fish extracted from the lakes and rivers and seaboard of the various Provinces is stated at $28,000,000 for Ontario, $54,000,000

for Quebec, $18,000,000 for Nova Scotia, $81,000,000 for New Brunswick, $5,600,000 for the North-West, $45,000,000 for British Columbia, $25,000,000 for little Prince Edward Island. In the seal fisheries of British Columbia, about which there has been such pronounced international controversy, there were some 14,000 Canadians engaged in 1895, with sixty-one vessels and 638 boats and canoes. Away to the furthest north of the Dominion are the richest whaling-grounds in the world—the last resort of the leviathans. The walrus, sea-trout, the inconnu, pike, sturgeon, and other fish, also abound in these waters. To sum up, it may be said that the estimated value of the product of Canadian fisheries was $150,000 in 1850, six and a half millions in 1870, fourteen millions in 1880, thirty millions in 1900.

Such has been the material progress of Canada in its more important aspects. It has been considerable, and the picture as a whole reveals a panorama of development which makes some measure of pride not unbecoming in the Canadian of the last days of the nineteenth century. But it is nothing in comparison to the resources and possibilities afforded by the waterways, the fertile plains and soil, the vast mineral regions, and the rich fisheries of the Dominion. Much has been done by legislation to help the development of these resources, and, perhaps, the most pronounced lesson taught by Canadian history, outside of the teachings afforded by a persistent loyalty among the people to British connection and the Crown, is the importance of legislation dealing with the promotion of material wealth and the comparative unimportance of mere party conflicts and even constitutional struggles.

CHAPTER XXX

EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE DOMINION

THE relations between Great Britain and Canada during the period of their connection under the Crown have no exact, or even near, parallel in history. British America was acquired in the first place rather as a graduated result of the world-wide struggle between France and England than because of any set British plan or purpose. It was not conquered because any particular value was expected to accrue from its acquisition, nor was it retained for any other reason than a feeling of responsibility to its people and honor in its possession. Incidentally, the determination not to let France extend its power by retaining the country after its final British conquest had something to do with the situation; while, as a dim perception commenced to enter the English mind after the Treaty of 1783 with the United States that, perhaps, the American child of Revolution was not as willing to be friendly as was expected, or desired, a determination not to enhance American power by the cession, or neglect, of the Northern Provinces also became a lever in their retention.

Prior to this time the whole region had been a veritable shuttlecock of fortune; mere cards in a great game of European war and maritime adventure. New France, Acadie, and the Hudson's Bay Company had been mixed up in whole, or in part, in numerous treaties before the final settlement came. The Treaty of Susa in 1629, the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye in 1632, the Treaty of Westminster in 1655, the Treaty of Buda in 1667, the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, all dealt with the interests or territory of the scattered population of the region which now constitutes the Dominion. With the settlement afforded by the Treaty of Paris,

in 1763, came a new complication in affairs, the removal of a foreign factor from the American scene—except in the far South—and the creation of a common tie of allegiance between the one-time French and English Colonial enemies.

Twenty years sufficed to change conditions again, and, by the Treaty of 1783, to recognize the Thirteen Colonies as an independent and alien Power and to constitute the French population, by the strange irony of fate, as the guardians of British territory and its restricted continental influence. The Treaty did more than this. Relying upon anticipated American friendship, free trade, and alliance, it endowed the United States with all the vast natural wealth of the Mississippi and the Ohio valleys and just avoided transferring Quebec to the same country and people. It, in fact, provided the United States with "gigantic boundaries on the south and west and north which determined its coming power and influence." * Other treaties relating to boundaries, and ineffective in operation except as they tended to advance American claims and to continually indicate a British spirit of conciliation, were signed in 1794 and in 1803 by representatives of the two countries.

In a territorial sense, therefore, the Dominion of Canada was born out of a condition of absolute indifference on the part of Great Britain, and, until the legislation of 1791, was cradled in a state of happy ignorance. The War of 1812 effected changes of great importance. It settled the drift of destiny for at least forty years along British lines; it established a new and strong tie between Great Britain and the immense, unknown territory which had been thus preserved to the Crown by the bravery of its sons; it drew a line of fluctuating, but still distinct character, against American expansion to the north. The Treaty of Ghent, in 1814, by which the struggle was concluded, contained no very new assertions or principles, though out of it came a couple of somewhat important arrangements. By an informal diplomatic

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* Justin Winsor's "America." V. 17, p. 150.

agreement between Sir Charles Bagot, British Minister at Washington, and Mr. Richard Rush, Acting-Secretary of State, in April, 1817, it was decided that all armed vessels on the Great Lakes should be dismantled and no more built, or armed therein. Great Britain and the United States should, however, each be allowed one vessel, not exceeding one hundred tons burden and armed with an eighteen-pound cannon, on Lakes Ontario and Champlain, and two similar vessels on the Upper Lakes. The agreement was to be binding until six months' notice was given by either Power, and, though never formally ratified by Congress or specially approved by Parliament, it has since come to have the force of a treaty.

EARLY NEGOTIATIONS AND TREATIES

The Convention of London, in 1818, was negotiated and signed with a view to the settlement of the fisheries question and the claims made by the United States to fish freely in British waters. The matter has been partly gone into elsewhere in this volume, but it is of such importance to a comprehension of general international relations that the Convention may be stated here to have given United States fishermen the right to fish outside of a three-mile limit of the British shores in America and to enter British bays or harbors for shelter, food, water, and repairs. At the same time, the United States Government renounced definitely any liberty on the part of their fishermen to take, dry, or cure fish on, or within three miles of, the coast of British North America. So far the arrangement was a good one for the Colonists and their country. At this point, however, the terms of the Convention passed on to deal with boundary matters and a combination of British indifference to territory and of utter ignorance of American character, aggressiveness, and ambitions marked every phase of the negotiations—as they continued to do for another half century. It was provided that the international boundary should be along the 49th parallel of north latitude from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky

Mountains and that the country west of that great range, which was claimed by either party, should be free and open to the people of both nations for ten years.

Such an extraordinary clause as the latter was, perhaps, never included in a treaty before. The claims of the Americans to any of the country now included in the States of Oregon and Washington were, at best, tentative and very weak. It is not likely that a strong stand would have been resented at this time to the point of war, and, if it had to come to that issue, ten years' prolongation of the claims and agitation could only serve to strengthen American feelings, American rights of occupation, and American power. The "settlement" simply postponed consideration of the matter until United States citizens should have time to pour into the country and claim it by virtue of present colonization, if not by right of discovery, or early and temporary occupation. Excuse for the apparently utter absence of statecraft in this arrangement is, perhaps, found in the severe sufferings and increased poverty of the poor classes in Great Britain which followed upon the conclusion of the tremendous struggle with Napoleon; the rising influence of George Canning and his policy of attempted alliance with the United States against the despotic Powers of Europe as voiced in the creation of the original Monroe Doctrine; the entire absence in the public mind of England of any knowledge or appreciation of the possible value of these regions—a condition brought home to Canadians themselves more than a century later by Mr. Blake's description of British Columbia as nothing but a "sea of mountains."

The next Treaty affecting British America was that of 1825, between Great Britain and Russia, by which it was provided that "the subjects of His Britannic Majesty, from whatever quarter they may arrive, whether from the ocean or from the interior of the continent, *shall forever* enjoy the right of navigating freely and without any hindrance whatever, all the rivers (in Alaska) which in their course toward the Pacific Ocean may cross the line of demarcation." This clause was considered, and admitted, as binding upon the

United States when the Republic afterward purchased and took over the country from Russia. In 1842 and 1846 came two arrangements with the United States which stamp the astuteness of American leaders and the blunders of British statecraft in broad and vivid outline upon the map of Canada.

Around and through them runs that thread of political thought which did so much in its day to diminish British power and to weaken British prestige—the policy of the Manchester School. What were territorial rights, or the future interests of Canadians, or the development of British power on the American continent, in comparison with an undisturbed peace which might facilitate the sale of a few more bales of cotton goods and promote immunity from increased responsibility or a little fresh taxation? They were nothing to men like John Bright, who had now begun to dominate public sentiment in England upon questions of this kind and who was able, not long after these events, to express pious and cosmopolitan aspirations for a future American Republic which should stretch in one unbroken expanse of life and liberty and happiness from southern seas to the Arctic regions!

TREATIES OF 1842 AND 1846

The Maine and Oregon boundary questions, which were disposed of by these Treaties, very nearly carried the two nations into war. Had one of them been any other than Great Britain, with her lack of territorial ambition and her good-natured endurance of youthful American aggressiveness, such a result would have been certain. The description of United States policy and diplomacy, as being, usually, vigorous to the point of aggression and forcible beyond the bounds of European etiquette, is not necessarily one of censure. The authorities at Washington, in all these negotiations and wars of a century, believed in the value of Continental soil and in the importance of rounding off their territories north and south—whether by the acquisition of California, Nevada, and New Mexico, the annexation of Texas,

or the acquisition of a part of New Brunswick and the States of Oregon and Washington. They had a distinct, though not always direct, policy of expansion, and that they followed this up at the expense of Canada and Great Britain reflects credit upon their astuteness and only discredit upon the statecraft of England. Well-meant friendliness or conciliation, when not reciprocated, is simply weakness of the worst kind.

The Maine question had been simmering since 1783, when the Treaty of that year determined the boundary between the State and the Province of New Brunswick to be the St. Croix River, with a line drawn from its source to the highlands dividing the waters falling into the Atlantic from those emptying into the St. Lawrence. The first form of the dispute was as to which river was the true St. Croix. This was settled against the Americans by a discovery of the remains of De Monts's unfortunate colony on the island at its mouth. Then, as the river had branches widely separated at the mouth, the issue turned upon which branch was meant in the Treaty. This was also settled in favor of the British by special Commissioners. Then, finally, the dispute turned upon the highlands; what they were and where they were. The American claim would have given the United States many of the largest tributaries of the St. John and a large part of New Brunswick. Not an iota of their contention would they abandon, or compromise, and ultimately, as settlers came into the disputed region, matters grew serious.

After a particularly violent quarrel, involving the despatch of British troops and Maine militia to the scene, the question was referred, in 1829, to the arbitration of the King of the Netherlands. He declared, after prolonged examination, that the matter was beyond his power to determine, and suggested a division of the territory in dispute. This was acceptable to neither country, and the quarrel dragged on until 1839, when American cities bordering upon Upper Canada were sending out hordes of Fenian and other filibusters to prey upon their neighbor's territory. From Maine went a lot of lumbermen, who entered the disputed territory to take

logs and in the face of the laws of both State and Province. The authorities of Maine and New Brunswick each despatched men to guard their interests, and a fight took place amid the snow and ice of the forest wilderness. Sir John Harvey, Governor of New Brunswick, immediately issued a proclamation asserting British rights and demanding the retirement of American troops. Governor Fairfield, of Maine, responded by calling out 10,000 troops for active service.

WAR WITH AMERICA IMMINENT

War seemed imminent. Daniel Webster and other antagonists of England in the Republic clamored for the arbitrament of force. The papers and the politicians were full of determination to take the territory. New Brunswick responded by sending regiments and artillery and volunteers to the front, and the whole Province teemed with loyal excitement. The Canadas promised substantial aid, and Nova Scotia voted £100,000 and all her militia amid intense enthusiasm and in a crowded House. Great Britain temporized, however, and the London "Times," then and for many years the narrow but powerful organ of the Little Englanders, proposed that everything should be given up to the Americans which lay west of the St. John River. Thus peace would prevail, and beside such a result what mattered the interests and the territory of loyal Colonists? It was the spirit of the times in England, and serves to show the strength of a British sentiment in Canada which could live through and ultimately overcome it. President Van Buren was not, fortunately, of the same mind as Webster and his friends, and he, therefore, despatched General Winfield Scott to the scene of trouble with apparent instructions to try and effect a compromise. Scott was a brave and judicious officer who had served against Harvey at Lundy's Lane and Stony Creek, and it was not long before the two came to an agreement which involved a temporary joint occupation of the disputed territory.

Three years later Lord Ashburton and Daniel Webster were

appointed Commissioners to settle the dispute. They were admirably fitted to duplicate the events of 1783 and 1818. The one was a good-natured believer in peace—at a high price, if necessary—and was personally interested, through his connection with the Barings, in American financial securities. This latter point might not have directly affected his action, because no one has ever disputed his personal sense of honor, but the fact of his being a member of the school of political thought which considered British external responsibilities as a burden and Colonial possessions as useless is beyond question. His appointment is, therefore, a standing disgrace to the Melbourne Government. In 1843, after the Treaty was negotiated, he declared, according to Greville's "Memoirs," that "the whole territory was worth nothing," and, in 1846, he assured the House of Commons regarding the kindred Oregon territory dispute that it was "a question worthless in itself." Webster, on the other hand, was a keen American statesman, with a shrewdness which bordered on unscrupulousness, and without any hampering friendship for England or for British interests.

The result of such negotiations was inevitable. Out of the 12,000 square miles of disputed territory, 5,000 went to New Brunswick; 7,000 square miles of the most valuable portion went to Maine; the Dominion of the future was shut off from an Atlantic winter port; a wedge of American soil was pushed up into the heart of the Maritime Provinces; and Lord Ashburton returned to England with a treaty of renewed peace and amity. Incidentally, Mr. Webster was able to ensure the ratification of the Treaty in the American Senate by showing that body a map drawn by Franklin in connection with the arrangements of 1783, and marked by a red line which revealed the British contention to be absolutely correct. Such was the Ashburton Treaty and its environment of events.

That of Oregon was even worse for British and Canadian interests. By the Convention of 1818, as already mentioned, there was a large extent of unoccupied territory on the Pacific Coast which England seemed to care little about, and

which was held for the Crown by the very insecure and vague lease of the Hudson's Bay Company—the claims to which were supported by the discoveries of Captain Cook, Vancouver, and other seamen or travelers. The whole region had been thrown open to general settlement in 1818, and, in 1826, a sort of internal agreement was come to by which the 49th parallel was accepted as the Continental boundary line. This left the British Columbia of to-day on one side of the line and the future States of Oregon and Washington upon the other—with the Hudson's Bay Company exercising its commercial privileges and a sort of shadowy sovereignty over the whole region. About 1845, however, their diplomatic success in the Maine matter had been so marked, and the desire to expand westward had grown so strong, that the United States papers and politicians, and the people themselves, began to clamor for the whole Pacific Coast territory right up to the bounds of Russian Alaska. The agitation grew with what it fed upon, and very soon the cry of "fifty-four, forty, or fight"—in reference to the southern boundary of Russian America being at latitude 54° 40′—rang through the Republic in very threatening tones.

Commissioners were appointed, and, although the American Government did not get all they desired, they did obtain by the Oregon Treaty of 1846 the splendid Puget Sound region and the lower valley of the Columbia, to which it is hard indeed to find any legitimate right or proven claim. The further question of the boundary delimitation through the Fuca Straits, under this Treaty, caused the San Juan question of a later date, the joint occupation of the little island by British and American troops in 1856 and the arrival of General Winfield Scott, in 1859, to once more act the part of pacificator. A temporary settlement, which lasted until 1872, was patched up, and then the German Emperor, acting as Arbitrator under the terms of the Treaty of Washington, decided in favor of the American contention as to the boundary channel and awarded San Juan Island to the United States. Meanwhile, the Reciprocity Treaty had been made

in 1854, and this event marked the one diplomatic development in the history of British America where Canadian interests were fully and adequately guarded. Its abrogation in 1866 marked also the high-water period in modern American hostility toward England and the Provinces.

THE FENIAN RAIDS

A word must be said here as to the Fenian raids. References have already been made to them, but their scope and character were of such a nature as to fittingly warrant special consideration in this place. Like the raids made by the rebels of 1837 and their filibustering friends from across the border in 1838-39, these incidents of frontier aggressiveness grew naturally out of the bitter feelings against England which had been cultivated as a duty and a pleasure by Irishmen living in the United States. When the United States, in 1866, began to press Great Britain for compensation in the *Alabama* case and to develop the keen feelings of animosity which found vent in the rejection of the Reverdy Johnson Treaty and in the abrogation of the Canadian Reciprocity Treaty, the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood of New York and other cities found its opportunity for self-assertion and attempted achievement. Popular ignorance of the condition, population, sentiments, and constitutional system of British America had something to do with the large and immediate response to a call to arms issued by the organization; popular belief in the fact of British tyranny and the British flag being synonymous terms, and of similar application in Ireland and in Canada, also assisted; while the existence of a large body of men who had become accustomed to the free, fighting life of soldiers in the Civil War and were not now inclined to settle down in the industrious paths of peace, was a source of much strength to the movement.

After months of public drilling and arming in American border towns, the announcement came across the frontier in March, 1866, that an invasion might be expected on St. Patrick's Day. Ten thousand militia were promptly ordered out

by Major-General Sir P. L. McDougall, then Commander of the forces in British America, and 14,000 appeared on parade the day after the order was issued. They were on duty for some weeks, but as no hostile action was taken, except an attempt to seize an island on the coast of New Brunswick which was promptly met by the calling out of the Provincial militia, the most of them were allowed to return home. On June 1, 1866, however, the actual raid commenced with the landing of 1,000 Fenians from Buffalo on the banks of the Niagara River, near Fort Erie, and the capture of that place. Colonel Peacock, of the 16th Regiment, was placed in command of the forces on the frontier, and these soon included some 500 regular troops, a battery of Royal Artillery, the 13th Battalion of Militia under Lieutenant-Colonel Booker, the York and Caledonia Companies of Volunteers, the Dunnville Naval Volunteers, the Governor-General's Bodyguard of Toronto under Lieutenant-Colonel G. T. Denison, the 19th Battalion of St. Catharines, the Queen's Own and Royal Grenadiers of Toronto—the former under Lieutenant-Colonel Stoughton Dennis—and the Welland Artillery. There were about 2,300 men altogether.

The intention of the Fenians was to destroy the Welland Canal, but at Ridgeway they were met by 840 militiamen under Colonel Booker. Owing to the failure of a subordinate officer to carry out certain instructions, the arrangements for co-operation between the forces of Booker and Peacocke failed to materialize and the former's force, after fighting for some time, finally retired before the Fenians with a loss of nine killed and thirty wounded. The battle of Ridgeway was nominally a defeat and especially regrettable because it prevented the capture of the Fenian army, which might have been accomplished had the original plan of operations been carried out. However, it saved the canal and seems to have sufficiently scared the invaders. Neither Colonel Peacocke nor Colonel Booker was to blame for the result, although both have suffered much from unjust and ignorant criticism. Shortly after the fight the Fenians escaped across the river

under guard of an American gunboat. For several weeks, however, some seven thousand of them remained concentrated at Buffalo, threatening another attack, and a strong force was maintained at Fort Erie to meet any such attempt. Meanwhile, a large body of filibusters had gathered at Ogdensburg, N. Y., but the presence of 2,000 regulars and volunteers who had rapidly gathered at Prescott, and of a gunboat patrolling the St. Lawrence, effectually prevented an attack. On June 7th, some eighteen hundred of the enemy crossed the frontier into the Eastern Townships of Quebec, but, on hearing of the concentration of 1,100 regulars and militiamen at Huntington, with a reserve of 5,000 troops at Montreal, they very wisely did not press the advance and shortly afterward dispersed. This ended the raid of 1866.

Four years afterward large numbers of Fenians gathered on the frontiers of Quebec, and again the militia had to be called out. Within three days of the call, 13,489 men, with eighteen field-guns, were in position at the points designated, and, on May 25, 1870, a skirmish took place at Eccles' Hill, in Missisquoi, in which 200 Fenians were driven out of a strong position and across the border by forty men of the 60th Battalion and some thirty-seven farmers of the neighborhood, under Lieutenant-Colonel Brown Chamberlain. A second invasion in the Huntington direction was met and similarly repulsed. In Ontario there were other alarms and threatened invasions, but no actually hostile effort. Over a year later, in October, 1871, a small band of Fenians crossed the Manitoba border, but were followed by American troops and taken back without having time to inflict any injury. This ended the Fenian raids, which, in direct expenditure, cost the Provinces a million and a quarter dollars, and, in the more indirect losses to business and trade, a much larger sum.

They are notable for showing the extraordinary inconsistency at times visible in American politics and diplomacy. Although demanding immense sums from Great Britain for the accidental escape of the *Alabama* from a British harbor,

the same Government and people openly permitted these Fenian invaders of a presumably friendly state to arm and drill within American territory, to march out of that territory on an avowed mission of war and bloodshed, and to return again without fear and without punishment. They let this go on for years and result in repeated invasion; even while repudiating responsibility during concurrent negotiations. And, finally, they refused all indemnification, or even a consideration of it, to the Canadian victims of this "neutral" system. The raids are interesting, also, as illustrating the attitude of England toward the States, her intense desire to avoid irritating subjects of discussion, her willingness to pay Canada's claims upon the Republic rather than to herself press demands for compensation. In this way, and for these reasons, the losses of Canada were not considered in the Treaty of Washington, and the United States escaped all responsibility for its practical, though not technical, share in the invasions.

THE BERING SEA QUESTION

Following the Treaty of Washington, which settled Anglo-American disputes for a few years, came the Atlantic fisheries trouble, which would have been disposed of in 1888 by the Treaty negotiated in that year between Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Sir Charles Tupper, and the Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, had the arrangement been ratified by the American Senate. Then, the Bering Sea question developed and the United States practically demanded the control of the seal fisheries of the Pacific Coast and the right to suppress British fishing in the waters of that region. The real reason for this action is to be found in the claims of the Alaskan Seal Company—an American corporation of great wealth and influence—to a monopoly in those waters; the nominal reason given was the prevention of pelagic, or open sea, sealing in order to avert the extinction of the herd. This latter point was practically disposed of by the Report of a Commission of Inquiry appointed by Great Britain and composed of the late Sir George Baden-Powell, M. P., and Professor George M. Dawson of Ottawa.

It showed clearly that the herd was, in the first place, in no danger of extinction, and the evidence indicated that, if it were, the Alaskan Company and the American sealers were hardly the best guardians of its welfare.

In 1892 a treaty was made by which the whole matter was referred to arbitration, and, at the tribunal which subsequently met at Paris, with Sir John Thompson, Premier of Canada, as one of the British Arbitrators, Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper as British Agent, and Mr. Christopher Robinson, Q. C., of Toronto, as one of the British Counsel, a decision was given upholding Canada and Britain in practically every point. Damages for the seizures of British ships which had been made in Pacific waters were awarded and the amount left to future assessment. After prolonged controversy this also was settled by a Convention held in Washington in 1896, and nearly half a million dollars was paid to Canadian sealers in compensation for their losses.

Meantime, the inevitable boundary trouble had developed in Alaska as a result of the purchase of that region from Russia in 1867 and the negotiation of a treaty two years later which proved abortive. The question is a complicated one and the details impossible of presentation here. Efforts were made at Washington, in 1870, to dispose of it, and, finally, in 1892, a treaty was signed by which a joint or coincident survey of the disputed region was to be made with a view to the delimitation of the boundary line. Despite continued efforts by Canada, however, no definite steps were taken by the United States until, in 1896, gold discoveries were made in the British Yukon region, the country became suddenly famous, and the whole question assumed an important as well as a perplexing aspect. Then the demands for settlement came from the Republic; demands which increased in scope as population poured into the disputed section and as its importance became enhanced to the interested view of the American people. Great efforts were made by the Laurier Government, in 1897, to have the whole matter referred to arbitration under, and in accordance with, the

forms of the Venezuela arbitration. But this was refused by the American authorities unless colonization and occupation should, in this case, be taken as implying ownership by right —in other words, unless the territory was given up in advance, arbitration was not acceptable. And so the matter stands at the end of the century.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

This rapid summary of the diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the United States, in matters affecting Canada, reveals much of vital national import to the Dominion, and indicates more. It shows clearly the prolonged and serious remissness of the Motherland in matters affecting territory in British America; it indicates an ignorance of the value of that territory not, perhaps, unnatural in view of the vast and steadily growing responsibilities of the United Kingdom and the wild vagaries of the Little England or Manchester School of thought, but still reprehensible; it shows a desire to promote peace and amity between the Empire and the Republic which has been more creditable to British sentiments of kinship than to British statecraft or knowledge of the United States. It reveals on the part of Canada, in its callow days, a desire to endure all things in preference to questioning seriously the good-will and good offices of the Motherland; a desire, in later and more mature times, to strongly enforce its own views upon the process of treaty negotiation and settlement through the right finally given by the presence of Sir John Macdonald at Washington in 1870, of Sir Charles Tupper at the same place in 1888, and of Sir John Thompson at Paris in 1893; a request and granted permission to make its own commercial treaties, subject to British approval, and illustrated in the visits of Canadian leaders to Washington in 1869, in 1874, in 1892, and in 1897.

It indicates on the part of Great Britain, and in later days, a steady, though slow, growth in her appreciation of Canadian loyalty and the value of Canadian territory. The difference

between the terms and character and results of British negotiations in 1818, in 1842, in 1846, and in 1870, and those of the years since 1888, are most startling in the measure of change from ignorance and indifference to knowledge and devoted support. To compare the willingness of Earl de Grey, at Washington, in 1870, to surrender Canadian territories and fishing interests *en masse*, with Lord Salisbury's declaration in 1887 that further seizures of Canadian vessels on the Atlantic Coast would practically mean war, is as striking in its way as to glance at the difference between Sir Richard Cartwright, in 1887, advocating a policy of trade preferences against England and in favor of the United States, and, in 1897, supporting one of preferences in favor of England and against the United States. It shows, indirectly, how strong must have been the Canadian sentiment of loyalty to the flag and allegiance to the Crown which could face and overcome, or grow out of, the feelings naturally and inevitably aroused by these earlier sacrifices of Colonial interests. It also affords some excuse to those who have since supported a policy inconsistent with the maintenance of British connection.

CANADIAN LOYALTY AND DESTINY

The reasons are not far to seek. If Great Britain, on the one hand, did not value to the full extent the waste lands of the continent in which she already held so large a stake, and was unable to see the future importance of certain places and boundaries which slipped out of her hands, she, on the other hand, maintained her right to very great regions of territory. If, at times, statesmen thought or spoke slightingly of certain Canadian interests, or territorial rights, they did little more than many politicians of the Dominion itself have since done. If there were recollections of British negligence and of occasional losses of territory through diplomacy, there were, also, in the heart of every British subject in Canada memories of struggles for life and home and country in which he had fought side by side with British troops from the time

when they were painfully spared by an exhausted Motherland in 1812 and 1814, through the troubles of 1837, the frontier raids of the two succeeding years, the *Trent* Affair, when thousands of British troops had been poured into the Provinces to defend them against a possible war, the period of the Fenian raids and the events of the first Riel rebellion.

There were other reasons for the maintenance and development of loyal sentiment. The influence of a hereditary tendency toward monarchical institutions among French Canadians, and of an intense personal sentiment of allegiance among the United Empire Loyalists of the other Provinces, had a distinct effect upon their descendants. The personal factor in this connection received a great and growing impetus in the accession of Queen Victoria to the Throne, in the respect felt for the life and work and memory of the Prince Consort, and in the visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to Canada in 1860. The latter event was one of direct interest and importance. The young Prince, accompanied by the Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary, and a large suite, visited all the principal places in Canada, and, at Halifax, St. John, Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, and other points, received ovations which fully illustrated the strength of existing loyalty to British institutions.

Another factor of great weight has been the presence, influence, and personality of the Governors-General. Lord Durham was the recognized founder of practical constitutionalism in Canada. Men like Lord Metcalfe and Lord Dalhousie impressed even hostile critics and antagonists with their personal honor and high principles. Lord Elgin was a model of courtesy in manner and clever conciliation in rule. Lord Monck was a strong factor in promoting Confederation and went further, even, than the constitution under ordinary circumstances would have warranted, in pressing it to an issue. Sir Howard Douglas and Sir John Harvey, in the Maritime Provinces, were models of careful, honorable administration. Lord Lisgar and others who preceded and succeeded him gave the society and the people of a new country

most useful and practical examples of the best phases of English life and customs and manners. Lord Dufferin was a power in eloquence and popularity which went very far toward consolidating and promoting British and Canadian sentiment in the geographically separated Provinces.

As the years rolled on toward the end of the century other and external forces came to the front. The formation of the Imperial Federation League in London, and the speeches from year to year of men like Lord Rosebery, Mr. W. E. Forster, Mr. Stanhope, Lord Brassey, Sir John Lubbock (Lord Avebury), and others of the new school of Imperial statecraft, rolled away many a cloud of doubt which had shadowed the minds of even loyal Canadians as to the British attitude toward the Colonies. Gradually, too, that wretched yoke upon the neck of Empire and unity, the Little Englander School, disappeared from the area of influence, though not altogether from sight and sound. Better men were placed in charge of the Colonial Office, and, finally, Mr. Chamberlain, whose faults may well be buried in view of his honest and earnest belief in the Empire as a great world-factor, came into a position and a power which he did not hesitate to wield.

Moreover, there had never been, until Confederation, any united public opinion in the Provinces which could very strongly feel or resent the passing incidents of British neglect or ignorance. The people understood the value of British America as a whole very little more than did their fellow-subjects in the British Isles, and no lasting impression was made upon their memories by the historic events referred to. The United States, on the other hand, was always near them and always a rough and ready wooer. Annexation was the dream of its greatest leaders, but certainty as to the result, much talk of destiny in the matter, and overwhelming belief in the superiority of American institutions, led them into the error of using coercion instead of conciliation. Had the wooing been systematic and kindly, and had the Republic assumed and maintained the *rôle* of

a magnanimous and sympathetic neighbor, the British Canada of to-day would have been almost an impossibility. Not absolutely so, of course, but from every standpoint of present probability.

Outside of the Reciprocity period, which, however, was marked by a prolonged series of nagging efforts at abrogation, the history of American relations with the British Provinces has been one the reverse of brotherly. Since the War of 1812 the record has been one of disputes over territory, differences as to fisheries, irritation over treaty negotiations, complications in tariff matters. No doubt Canada, in both its Provincial and Dominion days, has been wrong at times and has seemed a thorn in the flesh to progressive and enterprising American leaders; but its difficult position as a young, small, separated and struggling community seems, even in those cases, to have deserved some consideration. To understand, therefore, the loyalty of Canadians in the year 1900, their now historic participation in the South African War, and their public enrolment under the flag of an Empire which can be militant as well as peaceful, the relations of the Provinces to the United States as well as to the United Kingdom must be borne in mind.

The sentiment which has finally developed and with which the Dominion of Canada enters upon a new century of hoped-for achievement and progressive prosperity is simple and yet complicated. It is simple in being strongly Canadian in scope and character and local application. It is complex in being also Imperialistic to a degree which is steadily growing in strength and volume among an English-speaking population. It is still more complicated by the existence of a passive French-Canadian people who are opposed to change, loyal to existing ties, but absolutely indifferent, if not antagonistic, to any marked development toward more defined and closer relations. It is peculiar in combining American democratic tendencies and sympathies with a British loyalty to the Crown which grew with every year of the life and reign of Queen Victoria. It is important, in

the fact that Canadians hold the pivotal point of territory and power in the British Empire, and that upon their continued loyalty depends not only the unity of the Imperial system but British control of the waterways of the Atlantic and the Pacific.

The 400 years of Canadian history which have gone into the making of the Dominion are, therefore, of a nature to stamp its future with every fair and reasonable prospect of success. The annals of its people reveal combined characteristics in those of French and British origin which ought to ensure future power, as they have, in the immediate past, ensured material and national progress. The position of the country, in extent and resources and unity and transportation facilities, should make the wealth and commerce of an important destiny as certain as the aspirations of its people are strong. The qualities of past and historic loyalty to Province and country and Empire, ought to make its place in the Imperial system far more defined in the dim march of distant days than has ever yet been possible. Canada for Canadians, within the Empire, and against the world, appears to be the exact definition of popular feeling and development in the Dominion at the end of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE OPENING YEARS OF THE NEW CENTURY

BEFORE the formal announcement on January 18, 1901, stating that the Queen was not in her usual health, and that the "great strain upon her powers" during the past year had told upon Her Majesty's nervous system, Canadians, in common with the people in other parts of the Empire, had become so accustomed to her presence at the head of the state and to her personality in their hearts and lives, that even the possibility of her death was regarded with a feeling of shocked surprise. During the days which succeeded, and while the shadow of death lay over the towers

of Windsor, its influence was equally perceptible throughout the press, the pulpit, and among the people of the Dominion. When the Prince of Wales on Tuesday evening, the 22d of January, telegraphed the Lord Mayor of London that "my beloved mother, the Queen, has just passed away," the announcement awakened a feeling of sorrow, of sympathy, and of Imperial sentiment such as Canada had never felt before. It was more than loyal regret for the death of a great Sovereign; it was a feeling of individual loss.

ACCESSION OF EDWARD VII

The stability of British institutions was never more strikingly exhibited than in the perfection of procedure and calm certainty of conditions which surrounded the accession of the new Sovereign. In all parts of the Empire the necessary constitutional changes occurred without the slightest friction or controversy, and this despite the seemingly permanent place which the late Queen had come to assume in the machinery of British government everywhere. There was general satisfaction in Canada over the choice of a name, and the Prince of Wales, as King Edward VII, soon found that he possessed the loyalty of his people in a measure which would have astonished pessimists of a few decades before, and which did surprise many publicists abroad.

Meanwhile, events had most favorably impressed Canadians as to the character and policy of King Edward. His evident and deep feeling for his mother, the eloquent and tactful nature of his address to the Privy Council, his just mingling of splendor with the draperies of sorrow at the Queen's funeral ceremonies, his opening of Parliament in solemn state, and his sympathetic treatment of the Queen Consort, all combined to produce a most favorable public opinion.

THE ROYAL TOUR OF THE EMPIRE

On September 17, 1900, it was announced by the Colonial Office that Her Majesty the Queen had assented to the request of the Australian Colonies that H. R. H. the Duke of York should open their newly established Federal Parliament in

the spring of 1901. On March 14th the Duke of York—now also Duke of Cornwall—sailed from Portsmouth with the Duchess of Cornwall and York on a nine months' tour of the Empire. During the ensuing six months they visited Gibraltar, Malta, Port Saïd, Suez, Aden, Colombo, Singapore, Melbourne, Brisbane, Sydney, Auckland, Wellington, Lyttleton, Dunedin, Hobart, Adelaide, Fremantle, Mauritius, Durban, Simonstown, Cape Town, Ascension, St. Vincent, and other places in Asia, Africa, Australia, and New Zealand—a distance of 40,000 miles by sea and land under the British flag and among communities owning the sovereignty or suzerainty of the British Crown.

PASSING THROUGH CANADA

When the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York landed at Quebec on the 16th of September, 1901, they entered upon the first State visit of Royalty to the Dominion of Canada.

On September 15th the ancient City of Quebec was crowded with visitors; the streets were gayly decorated and the buildings everywhere blazoned with the French greeting "bienvenue"; the splendid citadel-rock of historic fame was ablaze with bannerets; on the broad bosom of the St. Lawrence were four great warships awaiting the Royal visitors; in the town itself were the Governor-General of Canada, his Prime Minister, and all the members of the Dominion Cabinet, excepting Sir Richard Cartwright, waiting to receive the guests of the nation.

At Quebec the reception was particularly effective, and the electric display from the fortress, city, and harbor, added to the natural grandeur of the scenery, made the evening spectacle wonderfully impressive. A review of 6,000 troops took place on the historic Plains of Abraham, and, later on, of 11,000 troops at Toronto and 15,000 at Halifax. The social receptions at Quebec and at Montreal were canceled, greatly to the personal disappointment of the people, out of respect to the memory of President McKinley, whose funeral was then taking place.

Montreal gave the Royal couple a crowded and imposing welcome. The Mayor, clad in the purple robes of an English Mayor, read an Address in French, which the Duke replied to in English. Their Royal Highnesses were then driven through the gayly decorated streets to the house of Lord Strathcona, who had come out from England to join in the reception. Along the ensuing journey of 3,000 miles from Atlantic to Pacific, and the return and branch-line trips, some brief stops were made at many small places as well as at the large ones. But everywhere, whether the Royal train, which was a magnificent special suite of cars prepared for the tour by the Canadian Pacific Railway, stopped or not, and whether the time was day or night, crowds stood at the stations, to cheer, and if possible to see, their future King. In Winnipeg the central feature of the welcome was the presence of immense arches of wheat upon the chief streets; at Calgary the gathering of thousands of Indians in solemn greeting with an exhibition of Western bronco-riding and sports was the principal feature; at Vancouver there was a great gathering of school children singing patriotic songs; at Victoria the fireworks and illumination of the city and of the fleet of men-of-war in the harbor were conspicuous features.

Toronto gave the Royal visitors the chief popular reception of the tour. Seven miles of continuously decorated streets lined by 11,000 soldiers and a multitude of people, a musical welcome by a trained chorus of 2,000 voices, a crowded reception at the Parliamentary buildings, State dinners, a great Military review, University honors, and constant cheering in the crowded streets, were indications of the interest taken in the Royal couple. At Ottawa, the unique feature of the welcome was the visit to a lumberman's camp and a trip down the river on a lumberman's raft. From Halifax, the Duke and Duchess sailed on October 21st, accompanied by a fleet of warships, and with the remembrance of an Empire tour unprecedented in history and a popular reception, cordial and loyal beyond the most enthusiastic expectation. Before leaving,

His Royal Highness issued a letter of thanks and appreciation to the people of Canada, which, like all his many speeches in reply to addresses of welcome, was manly in expression and effective in style and phrase. Toward its close, the Duke expressed the deep regret of the Duchess and himself at not having been able to see more of the country and its people. "But we have seen enough to carry away imperishable memories of affectionate and loyal hearts, frank and independent natures, prosperous and progressive communities, boundless productive territories, glorious scenery, stupendous works of nature, a people and a country proud of its membership in the Empire, and in which the Empire finds one of its brightest offspring."

During the years 1900-2 the South African struggle continued in varying phases of success and failure toward its inevitable end. Additional contingents went from Canada to the total number of 7,300 men, and individual Canadians achieved distinction—Lieutenant-Colonel R. E. W. Turner, of Quebec, winning the V. C. and D. S. O., and Lieutenants H. C. Z. Cockburn and E. J. Holland the V. C. Special honors were gained by Colonel Sir E. P. C. Girouard, Director of Railways, and member of a well-known French-Canadian family. Strathcona's Horse, under Colonel S. B. Steele, won high reputation for dash and courage, and the same may be said of the 1st and 2d Canadian Mounted Rifles, under Colonel T. D. B. Evans. At the Harts' River fight on March 31, 1902, Canadian bravery was specially marked, and every man in a small force, surrounded by many hundred Boers, was wounded or killed before being finally overpowered by numbers. Terms of Peace were signed at Pretoria on May 31st, following, and the rejoicings in Canada were marked by an enthusiasm tempered only with thoughts of the 224 gallant Canadians who had lost their lives in the struggle.

POLITICAL INCIDENTS AND CHANGES

The Federal elections of November, 1900, had resulted in a sweeping success for the Laurier Government—outside of

Ontario, which returned a large Conservative majority of members. Quebec only elected seven Conservatives, and Sir Charles Tupper, Hon. George E. Foster, and the Hon. Hugh John Macdonald, were all defeated in their respective constituencies. At the beginning of the following Session of Parliament Sir Charles Tupper's resignation of the party leadership was announced, and Mr. Robert Laird Borden, K. C., M. P., of Halifax, was chosen to succeed him. On March 3, 1901, the Provincial elections in Nova Scotia took place, and the Murray Government (Liberal) was returned to power, with only two opponents in the Legislature. In December, 1901, Mr. Arthur Peters succeeded the Hon. Mr. Farquharson as Premier of Prince Edward Island, and in November, 1902, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward G. Prior became Premier of British Columbia in succession to the Hon. Mr. Dunsmuir.

Meanwhile, the chief political incident of 1902 was the campaign urged by the Hon. J. Israel Tarte, Minister of Public Works, for a high tariff against American goods, and, finally, his retirement from the Government on October 20th. He was succeeded by the Hon. James Sutherland, and the new member of the Ministry was Mr. Raymond Prefontaine, of Montreal. In May, 1902, the Ross Government in Ontario had fought their general elections with a result of 51 Liberals elected as against 47 Conservatives. The narrow majority created much political conflict and acrimonious discussion, and on March 11, 1903, at the opening of the new Legislature, Mr. R. R. Gamey produced a sensation by charging a member of the Government with having paid him $2,000 for his vote. The matter was referred to a formal investigation. Late in February the New Brunswick Provincial elections took place, and the Tweedie Government (Liberal) was returned with a large majority.

On February 12, 1902, occurred the death of the Marquis of Dufferin, who was Governor-General of Canada from 1872 to 1878. The coronation of King Edward VII of England was scheduled for June of this year, 1902, but on account of

the serious illness of the King was postponed until August 9th, when it took place at Westminster Abbey. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was the recipient of many honors during the festivities. The Imperial Conference, opened June 11, 1902, was held to take into consideration relations between the colonies and the mother country, and to carry through, if possible, a scheme of federation. This conference, a pet creation of Mr. Chamberlain's, continued its sessions until August 11, 1902, without, however, making any progress in the solution of the question.

Early in 1903 (April 19), occurred the death of Sir Oliver Mowat, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario. It would be difficult to find in Canada, and especially in Ontario, a man more beloved than he. He was known as one of the "Fathers of the Confederation." The project for a new transcontinental railway made the year 1903 industrially significant. The scheme, when finally presented to Parliament by Sir Wilfrid Laurier on July 31, 1903, provided for the building of a new line from Moncton, New Brunswick, through Quebec to Winnipeg and the Pacific Coast, at a terminal then not fixed, but now known as Prince Rupert. The company is practically the same as the Grand Trunk Railway Company.

The Conservatives, under Mr. Borden's leadership, opposed the scheme, but failed to defeat it, the bill passing its third reading in October, 1903. Another important measure of this session was the Parliamentary distribution, based on the census of 1901. By its terms the House of Commons contains 214 members, the basis being 1 for every 2,500 people.

The most important event of the year 1903 was the settlement of the Alaska boundary dispute. The necessity for a prompt settlement of this controversy was apparent to all, because it was in this disputed region that a large part of the Klondike gold fields, or routes to those gold fields, lay.

The source of the dispute lay in the obscure and ambiguous language of the treaty of 1825 between Russia and Great Britain. This treaty had been interpreted over and over again in various ways, and neither the United States

nor Canada had shown any great anxiety to settle the question until the gold discoveries in Alaska. The main aim of the Canadians was to secure an outlet on their own territory to the sea, particularly through the so-called Lynn Canal.

On January 24, 1903, a treaty between Great Britain and the United States, providing for the settlement of this question, was signed in Washington by Secretary John Hay, for the United States, and Sir Michael Herbert, for Great Britain. This treaty was ratified (February 11) by the United States Senate, and on March 3d ratifications were exchanged, providing that an international tribunal should be constituted, and that its decision should be final.

The American members of the tribunal were: Elihu Root, Secretary of War; Senator H. C. Lodge, of Massachusetts, and Ex-Senator George Turner of Washington.

It was early made known that Lord Alverstone, Chief Justice of England, would be one of the judges, and it was finally announced that the other members of the tribunal would be Canadians.

The appointments went to Sir Louis A. Jetté, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, formerly a judge of the Province, and John Douglas Armour, Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada.

Justice Armour died suddenly in England, and Mr. A. B. Aylesworth, K. C., was appointed in his place. It can not be said of the Canadians that they were false to the terms of the treaty. The men they selected could truly be called "impartial jurists of repute." The American counsel were: Jacob M. Dickinson, David T. Watson, Hannis Taylor, C. P. Anderson, and J. W. Foster.

The British Counsel were: Hon. Edward Blake, who shortly resigned and was succeeded by Sir Edward H. Carson, Clifford Sifton, Christopher Robinson, F. C. Wade, Aimé Geoffrion, L. P. Duff, R. B. Finlay, S. A. T. Rowlatt, and J. A. Simon.

The first meeting of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal took place in London on September 3, 1903, and Lord Alverstone

was elected chairman. After a preliminary meeting the tribunal adjourned to the 15th of September, during which time the members studied the cases submitted by both sides. Arguments were made on September 15th, and on October 3d.

On October 20, 1903, a decision was announced which was practically a verdict for the American contentions. The line which the decision fixed as boundary nearly coincided with the American claims. The Canadians lost the heads of all inlets and had practically no outlet to the ocean.

The close of the year 1903 was marked by a disastrous fire, which destroyed the University of Ottawa on December 2d.

The year 1904 is noteworthy for several circumstances and events, the most important of which was the general election which took place in November. One of the issues was the change in the conditions under which the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway was to be built. The management proposed several changes, among which were these: The extension of the limit on bonds to be guaranteed by the Government to three-fourths of the cost of the mountain section; the provision of a remedy in case of a default in the payment of interest on the bonds; the extension of time for the completing of the Western Division to December 1, 1911; the addition of certain specified conditions in which the $5,000,000 deposit could be returned to the company; the giving to the Grand Trunk Railway control over the $25,000,000 of common stock to be taken in the Grand Trunk Pacific Company, and the grant to the company of the running rights for another fifty years over the Eastern Division, if the Government, at the end of the present fifty years' lease, should assume control of that part of the line. On April 5, 1902, Sir Wilfrid Laurier made a statement as to the action of the Government on this matter. It was in no sense a complete acceptance of the various requests. The request that the limit for the completion of the Western Division be five years had been scaled down to three. As to the forfeiture of the $5,000,000 deposit, the provision was made that if when the company

had completed the Western section the Government had not yet done the Eastern section, the deposit could be released with an adequate provision for the completion of the Eastern section.

This settlement, while giving the Grand Trunk better terms, was hardly a complete surrender on the Government's part, yet it was so described by the Opposition, headed by Mr. Borden. His motion declaring the Opposition's policy in the question was voted down on April 20, 1904, by a vote of 116 to 61.

One of the most sensational incidents during the year was in connection with Lord Dundonald, the general officer commanding the Canadian milita. Lord Dundonald, on assuming command of the militia, threw himself heartily into the work of reorganizing the force and bringing it up to date. There were soon rumors, however, of friction between himself and his superiors, but nothing came out publicly until on the night of June 4, 1904, when Lord Dundonald made a speech at a military banquet in Montreal in which he attacked the Hon. Sidney Foster, Minister of Agriculture, for erasing the name of an officer submitted by him for the Thirteenth Light Dragoons.

Lord Dundonald was called upon for an explanation of his attack on a Minister of the Government, and, in reply, admitted the correctness of the report of his speech.

Parliament took no action; the Privy Council, however, on June 14, 1904, dismissed Lord Dundonald, the reasons being stated in the official explanation as: "for an officer to make a public attack upon the Ministers of the Government under which he served is a proceeding so totally at variance with the principles which must necessarily obtain in the administration of military as well as civil affairs, that it can not be with propriety overlooked. It is impossible to do otherwise than to characterize the speech of Lord Dundonald as a grave act of indiscretion and insubordination."

Lord Dundonald's dismissal was received with approval by the Liberals, but it was denounced by the Conservatives.

Lord Dundonald was banqueted and fêted in several cities and received a great farewell demonstration at Ottawa on the evening of his departure, July 26th. In England his false step was generally condemned.

The first intimation of the coming general election was given by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in a speech at Sorel, Quebec, on September 28, 1904.

From that day until election day, November 3d, the Dominion was the scene of a very interesting political struggle, one of the most bitterly fought in the whole history of Canada. The general issues made by the Conservatives were the extravagance of and the truckling to the Grand Trunk Railway, incurring great public debts, preferential tariff, the Dundonald case, and the scandals in the Yukon district. The elections proved a greater victory for the Government than they had hoped for. The House stood on January 1, 1905, 139 Liberals to 75 Conservatives, or a Liberal majority of 64.

The year 1904 closed the term of office of the Earl of Minto as Governor-General. His term had been extended and he was generally popular with Canadians. Lord Minto was succeeded by Earl Grey, who arrived at Halifax on December 10, 1904, and who received an enthusiastic welcome.

One of the most important visitors to Canada in 1904 was Dr. Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Primate of all England. Other prominent visitors of the year were: Hon. James Bryce, and Mr. John Morley, now Viscount Morley.

That the old religious and race conflict in Canada has not died out was conclusively proved by the contest over separate schools in the new Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. These two Provinces had been a part of the North-West Territories, divided into four political divisions, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Assiniboia, and Athabasca, which had been ruled from Ottawa, or Territories, having a Territorial Legislature with capital at Regina. On January 12, 1905, the Government promised a bill for conferring autonomy on the Territories, but no mention was made on the educational question.

About February 1, 1905, rumors began to circulate that the Catholic authorities would demand a clear, definite statement on the separate-school question. The separate school was established in the North-West Territories and had been legalized and authorized by the North-West Territories Act of 1875, and also by the North-West Territories Ordinances of 1901. Once stirred up, however, the question became the subject and object of great strife. Sir Wilfrid Laurier in introducing the Autonomy Bill on February 21, 1905, made a very frank statement on the educational clause, urging the establishment of the separate school system in the new Provinces.

The Premier's speech and Mr. Sifton's resignation, and the dissatisfaction which this revealed, caused a storm of protest to rise throughout the Dominion. The opposition came strongest from Ontario, and especially from the city of Toronto.

Mr. Haultain, the Premier of the North-West Territories, declared that Parliament had no right to consider the question at all, that the educational clause was settled when the Provinces were admitted as Territories, and that the rights acquired then could not be taken away simply by a change of Government.

By the middle of March, 1905, it was plain that unless the Government compromised the fate of the measure, the Autonomy Act, was in great doubt.

On March 20, 1905, a compromise clause was made public. As amended, the bill provided that the separate schools must use the authorized text-books of the Province, and submit to Government control so far as teachers' qualifications were concerned. The bill, as amended, passed May 3d, by a vote of 140 to 59.

The capital of the new Province of Saskatchewan was fixed at Regina, and that of Alberta at Edmonton. The inauguration of the Province of Alberta took place at Edmonton on September 1, 1905, with Mr. Amedée Emmanuel Forget as Lieutenant-Governor. On September 4th, at Regina, the

Province of Saskatchewan was formed, with Mr. George Hedley Vicars Bulyea as Lieutenant-Governor. Mr. A. C. Rutherford was appointed Premier of Alberta, and Mr. Walter Scott Premier of Saskatchewan.

The most significant and important fact in the material history of Canada in the past twenty-five years is the opening of the North-West and the marvelous growth of the settlements. It is impossible to accurately estimate the number of settlers involved in the movement. Probably 340,000 is a fair estimate of the number of new settlers in the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan alone. The year 1907 was marked by the collapse (August 29), of the Quebec bridge under construction, which caused the death of eighty men. On September 7, 1907, Anti-Japanese race riots broke out in Vancouver, B. C., the outcome of heavy Japanese immigration to the Pacific Coast.

In the year 1908 was celebrated the tercentenary of the founding of Quebec by Champlain. On March 3, 1908, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in announcing the proposals of the Dominion Government in this connection, explained the objects: "First, of having a celebration in the city of Quebec; and secondly, to undertake the reclamation of the battlefields on the Plains of Abraham, and at Ste. Foye." The act introduced by the Premier, and subsequently passed by Parliament, created a "National Battlefields Commission," and voted $300,000 as a first appropriation toward the celebration. The Premier also announced the appointment of five commissioners on behalf of the Dominion Government: Mr. George Garneau, Mayor of Quebec; Sir George A. Drummond, of Montreal; Byron E. Walker, president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, Toronto; Colonel G. T. Denison, Toronto; and Hon. Adelard Turgeon, Quebec.

The program of the celebration at Quebec began on Sunday, July 19, and closed Friday, July 31, 1908.

The Prince of Wales was present from Wednesday, the 22d, to Wednesday, the 29th. The French and American fleets were received on the day preceding the arrival of the

Prince. The first Thursday was Champlain Day. Historical pageants, dating from Jacques Cartier to the capture of Quebec by the English, were held on eight days, and on Champlain Day there was a historical procession through the streets. The official guests who received the most attention were the Prince of Wales, Lord Roberts, and Vice-President Fairbanks of the United States. After a grand review of troops the title deeds of the old battlefields on the Plains of Abraham were presented to the Dominion, the battlefields to constitute a national park.

It would be impossible to close this work without a few words of appreciation of the Canadian people in the light of their history. I am sure the inhabitants of the Dominion do not realize the extraordinary growth of their country nor the vitality of their constitutions, and the principles of their government. Few realize that Canada, as a British colony, began its existence at almost the same time the United States began its entity. It was not until the Quebec Act of 1774 that Canada really had a constitutional Government and started on its career as a distinct state and part of the British Government. Canada had less than 70,000 people in 1774, as compared to the two millions and over of the United States.

Canada's growth has been more rapid in proportion than that of the United States, in spite of the handicap of clashing races, derided climate, maligned soil, discord within and interference from without.

It was with this splendid record in mind that Sir Wilfrid Laurier made his famous prediction: "The Nineteenth Century was the United States', the Twentieth Century will be Canada's."